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THESIS

BUILDING PARTNER CAPACITY: THE SCIENCE BEHIND THE ART

by

Zachary T. Hoover
James L. Self
David S. Yu

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Thesis Advisor: Heather S. Gregg
Co-Advisor: Robert E. Burks

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Building Partner Capacity (BPC) is a key mission for special operations forces (SOF), yet there is a lack of consensus on which variables most significantly impact BPC success.

This thesis uses quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the effects of cultural, economic, and support conditions on the outcome of BPC programs. It first constructs and analyzes a quantitative model that uses several preexisting conflict datasets. It then provides a qualitative case study, the Dhofar Rebellion (1965–1975) in Oman, to give real-life context to the model's findings.

This thesis finds that cultural differences between BPC sponsor and client, the number of sponsors per client, the length of a BPC relationship, and the types of support provided are all critical factors for BPC mission success. From these findings, the thesis offers five recommendations for sponsors to improve BPC mission success: manage personal relationships to overcome cultural differences; front-load support to their clients; consider allowing clients increased access to the sponsor's military and intelligence infrastructure; recognize the importance of funding support; and shield clients from the complexities of multilateral BPC efforts. In short, sponsors should build intimate sponsor-client relationships to succeed at BPC efforts.

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BUILDING PARTNER CAPACITY: THE SCIENCE BEHIND THE ART

Zachary T. Hoover
Major, United States Army
B.S., Texas State University, 2005

James L. Self
Major, United States Army
B.A., University of Southern Mississippi, 2005

David S. Yu
Major, United States Army
B.S., United States Military Academy, 2005

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requirements for the degree of

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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
December 2016

Approved by: Heather S. Gregg
Thesis Advisor

Robert E. Burks
Co-Advisor

John Arquilla
Chair, Department of Department of Defense Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Building partner capacity (BPC) is a key mission for special operations forces (SOF), yet there is a lack of consensus about which variables most significantly impact BPC success.

This thesis uses quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the effects of cultural, economic, and support conditions on the outcome of BPC programs. It first constructs and analyzes a quantitative model that uses several preexisting conflict datasets. It then provides a qualitative case study, the Dhofar Rebellion (1965–1975) in Oman, to give real-life context to the model's findings.

This thesis finds that cultural differences between BPC sponsor and client, the number of sponsors per client, the length of a BPC relationship, and the types of support provided are all critical factors for BPC mission success. From these findings, the thesis offers five recommendations for sponsors to improve BPC mission success: manage personal relationships to overcome cultural differences; front-load support to their clients; consider allowing clients increased access to the sponsor's military and intelligence infrastructure; recognize the importance of funding support; and shield clients from the complexities of multilateral BPC efforts. In short, sponsors should build intimate sponsor-client relationships to succeed at BPC efforts.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	Akaike information criterion
ANDSF	Afghan National Defense and Security Forces
AUC	area under the curve
BMA	Bayesian model averaging
BPC	building partner capacity
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COIN	counterinsurgency
CO-OP	Combined Ownership-Operations Program
CSP	Center for Systemic Peace
DLF	Democratic Liberation Front
DOD	Department of Defense
FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front
GDP	gross domestic product
IGO	Inter-governmental organization
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
Log	logarithm in mathematics
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	Noncommissioned officer
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPS	Naval Postgraduate School
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom

OEF-P	Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
PDRY	People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
PFLOAG	People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf
PRC	People's Republic of China
RAF	British Royal Air Force
ROC	receiver operating characteristic
SAF	Sultan's armed forces
SAS	Special Air Service
SOF	special operations forces
SWORD	Small Wars Operations Research Directorate
TSOC	Theater Special Operations Command
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
U.S.	United States
USASOC	Unites States Army Special Operations Command
USCENTCOM	United States Central Command
USD	United States dollar
USSOCOM	United States Special Operations Command
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Second, we would like to thank our families, who have served alongside us for the last eleven years, sacrificing the normalcy of their lives so that we may pursue careers that we truly love. Serving one's country is far easier when one can reflect, with first-hand knowledge, on the missions accomplished; the service of you who know first-hand only the separation and angst that makes it all possible is much more difficult, yet your support has been unwavering.

We would like to dedicate this thesis work to the U.S. military and diplomatic professionals who conduct BPC operations on behalf of the American people in the far-flung—and at times hostile—quarters of the globe. While the strategic importance of BPC operations is frequently lauded, the yeoman's work of actually conducting it is often left underappreciated. Despite this, BPC happens on dusty ranges, in team houses, at training camps, and in crowded embassy office spaces around the world on a daily basis.

Finally, we would like to recognize our partner forces themselves. Without their very real sacrifices, their respective homelands would be in much more perilous positions. While we have attempted in our small way to add to the body of knowledge on BPC during our short stint in academia, all of these dedicated professionals continue the arduous day-to-day task of carrying it out. We are proud to stand with you.—*Sine Pari*

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I. THE BEGINNING TO AN END

A. INTRODUCTION

A major mission of U.S. special operations forces (SOF) is building partner capacity (BPC) of foreign government forces allied with the United States, or indigenous resistance forces in countries hostile to U.S. security or interests. For example, U.S. special operations forces have been heavy involved in building partner capacity with the Philippines following the September 11 attacks on the United States.[1] More recently, U.S. SOF has been active in advising elements of the Syrian opposition forces fighting the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).[2] As these two examples illustrate, in the post-September 11 security environment, BPC has taken on greater importance as a strategy to combat both state and non-state actors. This is especially true in the "Gray Zone," an environment characterized by "competitive interactions among and within state and non-state actors that fall between the traditional war and peace duality."[3] Within this zone, BPC efforts apply to a variety of missions, including security forces assistance, foreign internal defense, and unconventional warfare.[4]

The importance of BPC, however, is not limited to special operations missions; it is rooted in the U.S. National Security Strategy and National Military Strategy. For example, in his opening comments of the 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy, President Obama writes, "Abroad, we are demonstrating that while we will act unilaterally against threats to our core interests, we are stronger when we mobilize collective action."[5] This statement reflects a theme of cooperation between the United States and its partners and

1 Linda Robinson et al., *U.S. Special Operations Forces in the Philippines, 2001–2014*, 2016, 17.

2 Peter Baker, Helen Cooper, and David Sanger, "Obama Sends Special Operations Forces to Help Fight ISIS in Syria," *The New York Times*, October 30, 2015, http://nyti.ms/1kYA6M3.

3 Philip Kapusta, "The Gray Zone" (U.S. Special Operations Command, September 9, 2015).

4 For more on these forms of warfare, see: Joint Doctrine Note 1–13 Security Force Assistance, *Joint Publication 3–22 Foreign Internal Defense*, and *Joint Publication 3–05.1 Unconventional Warfare*.

5 "National Security Strategy" (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015).

allies; in fact, the word partner is stated no less than seventy-one times in the document.[6] Similarly, the word partner is found in the 2015 U.S. National Military Strategy fifty times, and much of the language in the National Military Strategy focuses on BPC and developing interoperability with allies and partners.[7] The implied understanding of these two documents is that the United States, and its military, will increasingly work alongside its allies and partners in pursuit of U.S. national security objectives.

Despite concurrence about the importance of BPC for addressing an array of U.S. national security concerns, special operations planners often disagree on the conditions that positively affect these BPC relationships. Factors such as cultural diversity, differences in types of government, actual forms of support, the length of the sponsor-client relationship, and the number of BPC sponsors per client can all have a bearing on the success or failure of BPC. However, relatively little research has tested these variables rigorously to better understand which variables matter and under what conditions.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis aims to identify and examine the variables that lead to BPC success. Specifically, this thesis will investigate the following question: What variables indicate an increased chance of success or failure of a building partner capacity program?

C. METHODOLOGY

To investigate this question, this thesis will employ a mixed methods approach. It begins by providing a comprehensive survey on BPC literature, including quantitative, qualitative and organizational design modeling approaches to studying BPC success or failure. From this literature review, the thesis will propose two quantitative models to test several key variables and their effect on BPC success, which this thesis defines as the BPC client achieving military victory.

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6 Ibid.

7 "The National Military Strategy of the United States of America 2015" (Washington, DC: Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 2015).1, 12.

With two quantitative models, this thesis will investigate the following variables and their effect on BPC success: the cultural difference between BPC sponsors and clients; the difference in sponsor and client forms of government; the effects of ten different types of support (troops, access to territory, access to infrastructure, weapons, materiel and logistics, training, funding, intelligence, other forms of support, and support unknown); the length of the sponsor-client relationship in years; and the effects of multiple sponsors on the likelihood of the client achieving military victory. This thesis will draw from several preexisting datasets to test these variables, including the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) External Support Dataset,[8] the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset,[9] the UCDP Actor Dataset,[10] the Center for Systemic Peace Polity IV Project Dataset,[11] and the World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset.[12] In total, the thesis will test 131,072 configurations of a model that uses over 30,000 data points divided into 1,873 observations to gain a fresh perspective on BPC.

Alongside a quantitative analysis using big data, the thesis will also provide a qualitative case study designed to give these variables and their significance real-life context. Specifically, the thesis will investigate the Dhofar Rebellion of 1965 to 1975 in Oman, in which the British and Iranians acted as sponsors to the Omani government in the conduct of a counterinsurgency campaign against the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG). The PFLOAG was, by contrast, sponsored by likeminded Marxist-based governments including a combination of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, and

8 Mihai Cătălin Croicu et al., "The UCDP External Support- Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset v. 1.0-2011" (Uppsala, Sweden: The Uppsala Conflict Data Program, December 8, 2011), http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/.

9 Joakim Kreutz, "The UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset v. 2–2015" (Uppsala, Sweden: The Uppsala Conflict Data Program, February 19, 2016), http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/.

10 "The UCDP Actor Dataset v. 2.2-2015" (Uppsala, Sweden: The Uppsala Conflict Data Program, October 12, 2015), http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/.

11 "Polity IV Project, Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2015 Dataset" (Vienna, Virginia, USA: Center for Systemic Peace), accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html.

12 "The World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset (Current US$)" (Washington, DC: The World Bank), accessed June 1, 2016, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.

Iraq. The thesis selected the Dhofar Rebellion because within the U.S. BPC community, this conflict is a lesser-known BPC effort that involved major European, Middle Eastern, and Asian world powers, and which provides unique illustrations of the effects of this thesis' variables on BPC.

D. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The statistical analysis of key variables and their effect on BPC yielded the following findings: First, in general, the bigger the difference in culture the less likely the client is to achieve military victory. Conversely, when sponsors and clients closely share both cultural and economic similarities—what this thesis calls the "near-peer effect"—they are less likely to achieve success than sponsors and clients who possess an ideal degree of cultural and economic differences.

Second, the analysis reveals that the more sponsors involved in a BPC effort, the less likely a client is to achieve military victory. This finding is likely because the more sponsors that are involved in a conflict, the more complicated the management of each sponsor-client relationship is to the BPC effort. Planners should note that while an international alliance may lend political credibility to the BPC effort, it may also complicate the tactical mission on the ground.

Third, extended partnerships may hinder BPC efforts. This finding is tied to the observation that the longer a conflict continues, the less likely it is to result in a clear military victory for the client, and the more likely it is to result in a negotiated peace agreement, stalemate, or military loss for the client. This observation suggests that extended conflicts take a toll on both sponsors and clients alike. By contrast, this thesis finds that front-loading support from sponsors to clients both early and decisively in the BPC relationship leads to military victory and BPC success.

Fourth, this thesis identifies access to infrastructure and funding as the two most important types of support to provide BPC partners for military victory. Access to a sponsor's infrastructure, specifically the sponsor's military and intelligence infrastructure, requires both an intimate relationship and a high degree of trust from the sponsor. However, both quantitative and qualitative analyses show that this type of

support greatly benefits the client. Funding, arguably the simplest form of support to provide, is also highly effective for military success but still requires diligence on the part of the sponsor to ensure that the client employs it effectively. This oversight also calls for a close sponsor-client relationship.

Finally, this thesis reveals that there is not enough information in the combined dataset to determine if a difference in government type between sponsors and clients has a significant effect on the success or failure of a BPC effort. As such, more research is required in this area to further develop an understanding of the role of governance types in BPC.

E. AUDIENCE

This thesis aims to inform two specific audiences: The United States Army Special Operations Command (USASOC), and the various Theater Special Operations Commands (TSOCs). As the largest component of the United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), USASOC is responsible for manning, training, and equipping the Army's special operations forces that will be executing a large portion of the BPC effort for the foreseeable future. TSOCs act as the joint headquarters for all special operations in their respective Geographic Combatant Commands; TSOCs, therefore, are critical for the preparation, synchronization, sustainment, and ultimately the success of many BPC efforts. Additional audiences that may find this thesis useful are international partners and allies of the United States, the U.S. Department of State, and the U.S. Department of Justice, which are agencies that typically partner with the DOD in BPC operations.

F. THESIS ORGANIZATION

The subsequent chapters of the thesis are organized as follows: Chapter II begins by reviewing several definitions of BPC, and settles on the following definition for the thesis: "a whole-of-government approach that refers to any activity to enhance a partner's

ability to provide security within or outside of their borders."[13] The chapter then analyzes the existing body of research on BPC, which it divides into three categories: qualitative, quantitative, and organizational design modeling. Finally, Chapter II identifies a gap in research—the importance of culture and its effects on BPC efforts—and leverages two of Geert Hofstede's cultural dimensions as an analytical tool: power distance, and individualism.

Chapter III provides an overview of the models this thesis uses to analyze BPC relationships and programs. It highlights the use of modeling in previous conflict research and introduces the variables of interest associated with this research effort: difference in sponsor and client culture; difference in sponsor and client forms of government; the types of support provided; the number of years the sponsor supported the client; and the number of sponsors per client.

Chapter IV introduces the results of the regression conducted on the dataset developed for the thesis. Specifically, it finds: the greater the cultural difference between sponsor and client, the lesser the chance of BPC success; access to infrastructure and funding are the two most important types of BPC support; the longer a BPC relationship is maintained, the lower the probability of BPC success; and the higher the number of sponsors per client, the lower the clients' probability of achieving military victory. Chapter IV concludes by employing a receiver operating characteristics curve and Bayesian model averaging to check the accuracy of Model II.

Chapter V tests the findings of the statistical analysis in Chapter IV through a qualitative analysis of the Dhofar Rebellion in Oman from 1965 to 1975, in which the British successfully overcame their cultural disadvantage by establishing an intimate "inter-structure" with their Omani counterparts at the tactical and operational levels. The Chinese and the Soviet Union, by contrast, squandered their inherent cultural advantage by unsuccessfully attempting to substitute their Marxist collectivism for the Dhofari

13 Anthony F. Heisler, "By, With, and Through: The Theory and Practice of Special Operations Capacity-Building" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 50.

rebels' natural tribal collectivism. This case study provides further nuance into how to conduct a successful BPC operation.

Finally, Chapter VI concludes the thesis by providing a summary and key findings. Additionally, the chapter discusses the implications of the key findings for BPC planners, and offers recommendations and potential areas for future research.

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II. BACKGROUND: DOD AND INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the Cold War, and especially following September 11, 2001, the U.S. military and interagency communities have had an interest in building and improving partnership operations, or building partnership capacity (BPC). This interest has led to a rise in research and analysis of BPC programs in both academic and military circles. The collective understanding of how to successfully choose and conduct BPC, however, is quite diverse. As a result, it is difficult to find a consensus in the literature on the definition of BPC.

This chapter aims to provide a brief overview of BPC. It begins with a brief summary of definitions of BPC and its purpose. It then offers highlights of various methods aimed at evaluating BPC, including qualitative analysis, quantitative research, and organizational design models. Following this overview, the chapter identifies a gap in the BPC research—the cultural differences between BPC sponsor and client—and reviews research conducted outside of the defense field to formulate a quantitative analytical approach to address this deficiency.

The chapter proposes that research conducted in the fields of organizational anthropology and international business provide useful insights for statistically assessing how cultural differences affect BPC efforts. These insights can then inform statistical analyses of U.S. and partner nations engaging in BPC. This analysis will allow for a more informed "way forward" in the conduct of BPC, specifically in areas in which the structural odds are already stacked against success. This is an important distinction, as the locations chosen for the U.S. to conduct BPC are based on national security interests, which are oftentimes in areas with the most challenging dynamics at play.

B. DEFINING BPC

Because of the depth of research done on BPC, analysts have addressed the topic from multiple points of view, including from the academic, policy and practitioner

perspectives. Therefore, devising a working definition that covers these different approaches to the topic is difficult. Despite this, it is important to consider other efforts at defining the term in an attempt to create a common operating picture.

One useful definition of BPC comes from Janet St. Laurent, the Managing Director of U.S. Defense Capabilities and Management, who described BPC in a 2013 testimony to the House Armed Services Committee as "a broad range of security cooperation activities designed to build the defense capacity of foreign partners and allies and further the U.S. objective of securing international peace and cooperation."[14] While useful, the goal of "international peace and cooperation" is too broad a definition for this thesis.

Interestingly, the Department of Defense does not define the term "building partnership capacity" in its *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*.[15] However, the Directorate of Building Partnership Capacity, an office within the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, has a useful definition of BPC. Their website states that BPC programs aim "to advance partner nation capacity and capabilities through the provision of training and equipment, and include a series of Title 10 humanitarian-based programs that provides DOD the ability to accomplish national security objectives through military-civilian engagement."[16] This description, limited to training, equipment, and humanitarian assistance programs, is too narrow for the purposes of this thesis.

Perhaps the most useful definition comes from a recent thesis published by the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), which defines BPC as, "a whole-of-government approach that refers to any activity to enhance a partner's ability to provide security

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14 Janet A. St. Laurent, *Building Partner Capacity: Key Practices to Effectively Manage Department of Defense Efforts to Promote Security Cooperation* (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, 2013), 1.

15 Department of Defense, *JP 1–02 Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 2016.

16 "Directorate of Building Partnership Capacity (BPC)," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, July 13, 2016, http://www.dsca.mil/about-us/programs-pgm.

within or outside of their borders."[17] The thesis' author, Anthony Heisler, provides a clearly identified end state for BPC, succinctly stated, while maintaining the requirement for an approach that is larger than just the military.

The purpose of BPC efforts then, at least on the surface, appears quite simple—it is to improve the security force capabilities of other nations or actors therefore disengaging, or at least limiting, direct U.S. involvement in external security matters. The United States engages in BPC activities through a variety of means: military aid coordinated through the local U.S. Office of Defense Cooperation, joint combined exchange training, annual war games and exercises, and international student exchanges at professional military education courses and schools to name just a few.

Currently, several U.S. departments and agencies are responsible for administering BPC programs that use a mix of both general purpose and special operations forces. This includes the Defense Institution Reform Initiative, which focuses on developing ministerial level core competencies such as "personnel and readiness, logistics, strategy and policy, and financial management."[18] These agencies are also responsible for large-scale annual exercises, such as Eager Lion in the Kingdom of Jordan, which is the largest military exercise in the USCENTCOM area of responsibility, and involves some 3,000 service members from both countries.[19]

At times, analysts have criticized U.S.-sponsored BPC programs for lack of long-term planning and consistency. For example, with reference to BPC programs, Jason Terry states, in "Principles of Building Partnership Capacity" that "organizations conduct operations and engagements and then look for ways to make minor adjustments to the engagement so they can categorize it as 'BPC' rather than build a BPC effort from the

17 Heisler, "By, With, and Through," 50.

18 "Ministry of Defense Advisors," Defense Security Cooperation Agency, July 13, 2016, http://www.dsca.mil/programs/ministry-defense-advisors.

19 Cheryl Pellerin, "Votel: Eager Lion 16 Highlights U.S.-Jordanian Force Integration," CENTCOM, May 23, 2016, http://www.centcom.mil/MEDIA/NEWS-ARTICLES/News-Article-View/Article/885359/votel-eager-lion-16-highlights-us-jordan-force-integration/.

beginning."[20] U.S. BPC efforts have also suffered from a lack of consistent funding. One major funding initiative for U.S. BPC is the 1206 Global Train and Equip program, which focuses on partner counterterrorism efforts. This program, however, only allocates funds for one or two years—limiting any long-range planning.[21]

With these challenges in mind, several studies have aimed to better understand the intricacies of the BPC process. The U.S. government and think tanks have used a mixture of methods, cases, data, goals and measures of effectiveness in these studies, leading to a concern for a lack of coordination and clear objectives in research efforts. For example, Terry notes, "What is often lacking, however, is the development of a coordinated approach of the multitude of engagements towards a comprehensive objective prior to initiating the endeavor."[22] Additionally, a recent RAND report notes that, "measurable objectives that explicitly connect to broader U.S. government, theater, regional, and 1206 program goals are currently lacking for the 1206 program."[23]

Given these concerns about the U.S. conduct of BPC, the seemingly ubiquitous nature of BPC programs around the world, and the criticality of BPC to achieve U.S. national security objectives, it is clear that BPC is a crucially important topic in the field of defense analysis. In order to devise a more systematic and comprehensive approach in assessing BPC, it is important to first review the methods and approaches various researchers have already employed.

C. BPC RESEARCH

Scholars have used three broad methods to analyze U.S. efforts at BPC: qualitative, focusing primarily on case studies; quantitative; and organizational design

20 Jason B. Terry, "Principles of Building Partnership Capacity" (master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2010), 2.

21 Christopher Paul, *What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity in Challenging Contexts, Research Report RR-937-OSD* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2015), 25.

22 Terry, "Principles of Building Partnership Capacity," 3.

23 Jennifer D. P. Moroney et al., *How Successful Are U.S. Efforts to Build Capacity in Developing Countries?: A Framework to Assess the Global Train and Equip "1206" Program* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2011), xvi.

approaches. Each of these approaches offer different strengths and weaknesses in better understanding BPC programs.

1. Qualitative Research

By far, the most developed subset of BPC research and analysis uses qualitative analysis. A good example of qualitative BPC analysis is Kevin Berkompas' thesis, "Toward Strategy for Building Partner Capacity: Combined Ownership and Operations." Berkompas focuses on the BPC client-sponsor relationship, advocating for the use of a Combined Ownership-Operations Program (CO-OP).[24] Berkompas argues that a CO-OP would, in essence, create "a true 'partner-partner' relationship as opposed to a 'patron-client' one."[25] While the use of a CO-OP is interesting, the "patron-client," or sponsor-client relationship, as it is termed here, which involves a hierarchy of resources and a hierarchy in the relationship, is far more common; therefore, the datasets employed in this thesis focus on sponsor-client relationships.

Another example of a qualitative approach to researching BPC is Steven Bury's NPS thesis, "Analysis of West African Drug Trafficking: The Dynamics of Interdiction and State Capacity," which uses qualitative case studies to compare counternarcotic activities in Ghana and Guinea-Bissau to analyze the two countries' "ability to absorb international counternarcotics partnerships."[26] Bury's work investigates the success of counternarcotics efforts in Ghana, relative to those in Guinea-Bissau, to draw the conclusion that Ghana's higher level of state capacity allowed it to absorb the counternarcotics training better, leading to a more successful BPC effort.[27] This study, while qualitative in nature, uses data from the World Bank, cross-referenced with the number of post-training narcotics seizures, to justify its conclusions.[28] Bury also hints at

24 Kevin L. Berkompas, "Toward Strategy for Building Partner Capacity: Combined Ownership and Operations" (master's thesis, U.S. Army War College, 2010), 9.

25 Ibid., 24.

26 Steven Bury, "Analysis of West African Drug Trafficking: The Dynamics of Interdiction and State Capacity" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2011), v.

27 Ibid., 35.

28 Ibid., 10.

the research gaps available for studying BPC through open source datasets, something this thesis will expand upon.

Similarly, Anthony Heisler's NPS thesis, "By, With, and Through: The Theory and Practice of Special Operations Capacity-Building" provides an examination of BPC "from the top down through national security documents, doctrine, and case studies."[29] Heisler uses the U.S. Special Operations Command-South's efforts in Colombia and Paraguay to provide a holistic overview of what he terms the Theory of BPC.[30] From this analysis, Heisler produces "Seven Principles of Capacity Building":

1. Common Purpose
2. Endurance
3. Opportunism
4. Resilience
5. Synchronization
6. Transparency
7. Unity of Effort[31]

Heisler's work, while insightful, stresses the need for disparate BPC entities within the U.S. government to communicate and synchronize their BPC efforts. This thesis will build on Heisler's work, but rather than investigate relationships within the U.S. government, it will focus on the relationship between the BPC sponsor and client.

Another qualitative BPC focused piece is Michael Veneri's article, "The Partner Predicament: U.S. Building Partnership Capacity, the War on Terrorism and What the U.S. Cannot Overlook." Veneri argues that the BPC client selection process is critical to long-term success, focusing on identifying factors from two broad categories: compliance

29 Heisler, "By, With, and Through" v.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., 137–138.

and capability.[32] Of note, one of Veneri's capability factors is "culture."[33] While he notes that "culture matters," Veneri gives examples of cultural manifestations (e.g., government failure, corruption, and poorly educated work forces), rather than a more comprehensive explanation of what culture encompasses.[34] This thesis aims to take a broader look at culture and its effects on BPC through statistical analysis.

Perhaps most useful, Jason Terry's qualitative thesis postulates ten considerations when designing and implementing BPC programs:

1. BPC Starts and Ends with Diplomats
2. Partner Nation Ownership of Capacity
3. Understand Historical and Cultural Context
4. Unity of Effort
5. Understand and Articulate the Big Picture
6. Legitimacy
7. Regional Engagement
8. Measurements of Progress
9. Engage at Multiple Levels
10. Seek Multiple Sources of Sound Multi-Year Funding[35]

With a few exceptions, these same considerations appear throughout the qualitative body of BPC literature. For example, Emmanuel Cabahug's article, "SOF Joint Combined Exchange Training from a Host Nation's Perspective," provides a more succinct but similar list, which includes the following variables: "commitment, continuity, and resources."[36]

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32 Michael Veneri, "The Partner Predicament: U.S. Building Partnership Capacity, the War on Terrorism and What the U.S. Cannot Overlook" (Arlington, VA: Synesis, 2011), 11.

33 Ibid., 12.

34 Ibid., 12–13.

35 Terry, "Principles of Building Partnership Capacity," 59–68.

36 Cabahug, "SOF Joint Combined Exchange Training from a Host Nation's Perspective," 9.

Some of the qualitative research also argues for additional planning considerations in order to produce more refined BPC strategies. For example, several studies list criteria to consider when selecting partners. David Hodges and Robert Rowland in their NPS thesis, "Finding the Right Indigenous Leader and Force for Counterinsurgency Operations," identify four characteristics to asses when selecting partner forces: motives, personal qualities, relationship with the community, and relationship with the local government.[37] While these reports and observations are valuable, they have some limitations. Specifically, qualitative case studies are often limited in their ability to hold specific variables constant across cases, and anecdotal accounts rarely draw systematic comparisons.

2. Quantitative Research

Another research approach to analyzing BPC focuses on quantitative methods. The RAND Corporation has generated several reports with this approach, specifically "The RAND Security Cooperation Prioritization and Propensity Matching Tool."[38] This tool, constructed in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, assesses countries through the use of measured weights and a utility scale to calculate a score of how likely it is a BPC enterprise between the client nations and the United States will succeed. While useful in generating variables for comparing U.S. sponsored state-level BPC efforts, the tool does not provide insight into partnerships other than those involved with the United States. In fact, there is little quantitative analysis that addresses the propensity for BPC success among international partnerships, or with regard to specific cultural characteristics within a group.

Several other pieces of quantitative literature build on the findings of the RAND tool. These include the RAND report, "Developing an Army Strategy for Building Partner Capacity for Stability Operations," the purpose of which is "to assist the U.S.

37 David Hodges and Robert Rowland, "Finding the Right Indigenous Leader and Force for Counterinsurgency Operations" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2011).

38 Christopher Paul, "The Rand Security Cooperation Prioritization and Propensity Matching Tool" (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013).

Army, DOD, and other U.S. government agencies in developing a well-defined, well-integrated BPC for stability operations strategy and to create a nexus between the concepts of BPC and stability operations."[39] While this report considers "political culture," specifically a focus on government types, the study does not conduct an in-depth analysis of the effect of cultural differences between BPC sponsor and client.

William Hermann's NPS thesis, "Choosing to Win: How SOF Can Better Select Partner Forces for Capacity Building," builds upon two RAND studies: "The RAND Security Cooperation Prioritization and Propensity Matching Tool," and "What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity." Hermann's analysis concludes that "the countries best suited to SOF training and advising are the ones that the RAND reports suggest are the least likely to build capacity."[40] Hermann goes on to assert that, in light of this disparity, theater special operations commands (TSOCs) must continue to research and develop creative solutions to achieving mission success. In other words, there is much work needed to better understand the conditions that produce BPC success.

Other scholars have conducted quantitative studies at the strategic and operational level to better understand a specific type of BPC effort, such as a counterinsurgency campaign. One example is captured in an article by John Fishel and Max Manwaring, which critiques the SWORD model developed in the 1980s as a means of assessing the likelihood of success or failure for a counterinsurgency effort.[41] While not specifically focused on partner force capacity building, the SWORD model provides a valuable example of how statistically significant quantifiable variables can be used to analyze a complex data set. This work, combined with the RAND tool, provides a framework from which scholars can potentially construct a quantitative model to assess the likelihood of success or failure in BPC sponsorship.

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39 Jefferson P. Marquis, ed., *Developing an Army Strategy for Building Partner Capacity for Stability Operations*, RAND Corporation Monograph Series (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010), xiv.

40 William Hermann, "Choosing to Win: How SOF Can Better Select Partner Forces for Capacity Building" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), v.

41 John T. Fishel and Max G. Manwaring, "The SWORD Model of Counterinsurgency: A Summary and Update," *Small Wars Journal*, 2008, http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/152-fishel.pdf.

3. Organizational Design BPC Research

Finally, there is set of research that focuses on defining the issue of BPC operations through organizational design models. These works provide additional insight for identifying some of the major considerations involved in any large-scale operation: globalization, security, economics, politics, and culture. Thomas Barnett, an American military geostrategist, introduces one such model. He proposes dividing the world into two broad groups, the functioning core and the non-integrating gap, what he calls the "Core-Gap Model."[42] Barnett suggests that the U.S. military, through the use of force and stability operations, is capable of helping to bring non-integrated gap countries into the global economy which, in turn, would give the non-integrated gap an alternative option to violence and terrorism. In other words, this organizational model seeks to provide an alternative means with which to frame the problem of BPC. Once this re-framing is accomplished, the model aims to make informed recommendations at the state level.

James Keller, in his NPS thesis, creates what he calls the "Keller Partner Nation SOF Model."[43] Keller focuses on two previously developed counterinsurgency (COIN) models: the Wendt Military Elements of COIN model; and the oil-spot (also referenced as the clear-hold-build) model, which military historian Andrew F. Krepinevich advocated using in 2005 to achieve victory in Operation Iraqi Freedom.[44] The Keller model builds on the previous models by prescribing the development of a Village Constabulary, a Civic Action Force, and a Movement to Contact Force. Keller describes the implementation of this model both from a single organization point of view, and a whole-of-government perspective. Throughout, Keller weighs the development of the partner nation forces against the need for organic partner nation sustainability of the forces developed, and the requirement to actively remove under-governed spaces from

42 Thomas P. M Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Berkley Books, 2005).

43 James C. Keller, "Fixing the Whole-of-Government Approach in Failed States–A Model for Security Force Assistance" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2010).

44 Andrew Krepinevich, "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, July 8, 2014, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2005-09-01/how-win-iraq.

which internal instability emanates. Although this is a valuable work for addressing the BPC requirements in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is the case study Keller uses for his thesis, the characteristics he identifies and their applications have yet to be tested across the BPC spectrum.

This thesis aims to build on these research initiatives to develop a quantitative investigation that will assess the significance of different types of BPC sponsorship (e.g., weapons, training, and intelligence), as well as key differences (e.g., polity and culture) between BPC sponsors and their clients. The intent is to identify what types of support, and what differences between BPC sponsor and client, are most significant when planning BPC operations.

D. CULTURAL RESEARCH RELEVANT TO BPC

As the United States increasingly relies on BPC programs to achieve its national security objectives, culture will certainly have increasing effects on the U.S. military and its operations, particularly BPC. Little research, however, has focused on the effect of cultural differences on BPC efforts. This gap may be explained by the fact that the word culture is not an easy term to define or operationalize.

To address this concern, this section examines anthropological, psychological, sociological, economic, and business works on culture with the goal of providing a close examination of the definitions and concepts of culture, as well as identifying why understanding culture matters for BPC efforts.

The word culture has a variety of meanings in the academic fields in which it is studied. For example, linguist and psychologist, Helen Spencer-Oatey, in her article, "What is Culture? A Compilation of Quotes," states that, "Culture is a notoriously difficult term to define."[45] Spencer-Oatey goes on to highlight a quote from the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* that observes, "Despite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among

45 Helen Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations" (Warwick: University of Warwick, 2012), 1.

anthropologists regarding its nature."[46] In a broader observation of society, Geert Hofstede et al. point out that, "In most Western languages culture commonly means 'civilization' or 'refinement of the mind' and in particular the results of such refinement, such as education, art, and literature."[47] Spencer-Oatey provides another quote by the 19th century British anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tyler, who defined culture as, "that complete whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits by man as a member of society."[48] It is clear from these observations that culture, for many, is a broad concept that attempts to create a single label for tangible and intangible aspects of a group including art, behaviors, and language.

Within the past 100 years, however, researchers from many fields have sought to develop a narrower, more useful, definition of culture. Spencer-Oatey defines culture as, "a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour."[49] In this definition, Spencer-Oatey narrows the characterization of culture by starting with assumptions and values, and eliminating art and other manifestations.

Organizational anthropologist Geert Hofstede also aims to refine the definition of culture, attempting to make it relevant to international business in particular. In one of his earlier works, *Culture's Consequence: International Differences in Work Related Values* (1984), Hofstede argues culture is, "the collective programming of the mind which

46 Ibid.

47 Geert H. Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede, and Michael Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind: Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010), 5.

48 Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations," 2.

49 Ibid.

distinguished the members of one human group from another."[50] He recognizes that, "This is not a complete definition," and that in some fields there is reason to note the manifestations of culture within the definition. He highlights, however, that his definition is culture at its core, and that it, "includes systems of values; and values are among the building blocks of culture."[51] Hofstede's subsequent research has refined his definition of culture. In a later publication, Hofstede, Gert Jan Hofstede, and Michael Minkov defined culture as the "software of the mind." They still recognize culture as the shared "patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting mental programs" within a group, but updated their definition with more contemporary vernacular.[52]

Spencer-Oatey and Hofstede et al. agree that, at its core, culture is values. Spencer-Oatey identifies values as the level of culture that connects a society's basic assumptions with its artifacts, behaviors, technology and art.[53] Hofstede et al. describe values as "a certain tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others."[54] These preferences produce patterns of action, feelings, and perceptions among the people in a society.

To address the cultural aspects of BPC, this thesis will draw on both Hofstede et al. and Spencer-Oatey, and define culture as the collection of basic assumptions and values that manifest themselves in individual and collective behavior and in the interpretations of that behavior within a group.

In addition to defining culture, many researchers have also sought to establish a framework to better understand cultural differences. Geert Hofstede, a pioneer in the field of measuring cultural values, created cultural dimensions in order to measure relative differences in cultural values; these dimensions are now internationally recognized, and

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50 Geert H. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Abridged ed, Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), 21.

51 Ibid.

52 Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*, 5.

53 Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations," 4.

54 Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, 16.

used in business, psychological, and economic research.[55] Briefly, Hofstede's four dimensions are: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and masculinity. Hofstede defines power distance as "the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally."[56] He defines uncertainty avoidance as "the degree to which the members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity,"[57] and individualism as "a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families."[58] Lastly, Hofstede defines masculinity as "a preference in society for achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards for success."[59]

While definitions of culture and Hofstede's framework are insightful they do not in themselves demonstrate the importance of understanding a group's culture. The significance of culture is that it actively affects the behaviors of groups and individuals. In *Culture and Organizations,* Hofstede et al. argue that it is a combination of a group's culture, a person's personality, and individual circumstance that will determine actions. Their research duly notes, however, that people are, of course, not computers and can deviate from their own mental programming.[60] Hofstede et al. conclude that, "The software of the mind (culture) … only indicates what reactions are likely and understandable, given one's past."[61]

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55 Linghui Tang and Peter Koveow, "A Framework to Update Hofstede's Cultural Value Indices: Economic Dynamics and Institutional Stability," *Journal of International Business Studies* 39, no. 6 (September 2008): 1045–63; Scott Nadler and James Zemanek, "Cultural Differences and Economic Development of 31 Countries," *Psychological Reports* 2006, no. 99 (2006): 274–76; Yuriy Gorodnichenko and Gerald Roland, "Culture, Institutions, and Development: Which Dimensions of Culture Matter for Long-Run Growth," *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 101, no. 3 (2011): 492.

56 "Dimensions–Geert Hofstede," accessed June 2, 2016, https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*, 5.

61 Ibid.

Like Hofstede et al., Spencer-Oatey observes that culture "affects behavior and interpretations of behavior."[62] Spencer-Oatey focuses her discussion on how culture affects behavior at the individual level, providing examples of how an individual's actions are interpreted differently by parties during a cross-cultural interaction.[63] One example Spencer-Oatey provides is a story of a Native American father picking his child up in a classroom while school is in session. The teacher warmly greets the father, telling him how well his son is doing in the class. The father remains silent, waiting for his son to get his books together, and then leaves with his son. The teacher is taken aback, disappointed in the rude nature of the father—not to say hello or even introduce himself. The father, however, felt he was being respectful to the classroom environment, and did not want to offend the teacher by speaking or interrupting.[64] This same dynamic can easily manifest in BPC scenarios, resulting in confusion and misunderstandings.

Hofstede provides a similar example of behavior, and its interpretation, through different cultures' understanding of time. Hofstede presents a situation in which a woman has an appointment, and describes how culture influences if the woman will be late, on time, or early for the meeting. Hofstede highlights how values influence the situation's outcome.[65]

In, "What is Culture? A Compilation of Quotes," Spencer-Oatey also notes that "culture is subject to gradual change."[66] Spencer-Oatey expounds upon this by illustrating that anthropologists will certainly find differences in a group as they intermittently interact with the group over time. This, Spencer-Oatey states, is because, "there are no cultures that remain completely static year after year."[67] Research has now shown that certain cultural values tend to change over time, while others do remain static.

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62 Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations," 4.

63 Ibid., 4–5.

64 Ibid., 5.

65 Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, *Cultures and Organizations*, 14.

66 Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations," 12.

67 Ibid.

Building on this discussion of culture and values, this thesis will focus particularly on two aspects of the Hofstede dimensions that are of importance to BPC: power distance and individualism. Understanding the power distance and individualism dynamics in a given group provide additional insights well beyond the possible prediction of economic indicators. Insights garnered from these dimensions will help those involved in BPC efforts understand dynamics in partner units. For example, in *Culture's Consequence,* Hofstede highlights that in low power distance countries, such as the United States, societies view power with the following norms, "inequality in society should be minimized," "superiors are people like me," and, "powerful people should try to look less powerful than they are."[68] In high power distance countries, such as India, society views power with differing norms: "there should be an order of inequality in this world," "subordinates consider superiors as being of a different kind," and, "powerholders are entitled to privileges."[69] These differences are not trivial, and could affect a BPC effort.

Similar to power distance, differences in individualism could also result in confusion and disarray during a BPC effort. In reference to low individualism countries, Hofstede notes, "individual initiative is socially frowned upon," "social relations [are] predetermined in terms of in-groups," and, "managers choose duty, expertness, and prestige as life goals."[70] Conversely, in high individualism countries, "individual initiative is socially encouraged," individuals "need to make specific friendships," and "managers choose pleasure, affection, and security as life goals."[71] Like power distance, the differences between these two perspectives are striking, and misunderstanding their implications could detract from BPC efforts.

As potentially helpful as insights into the values of power distance and individualism are to achieving BPC success, the reality is that the countries in which

68 Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*, 94.

69 Ibid., 94.

70 Ibid., 166.

71 Ibid., 166.

Hofstede has conducted research are not always the ones where the United States conducts BPC operations. Specifically, Hofstede's most current cultural values database only has 111 countries, omitting many of the conflict prone regions that the U.S. military is heavily involved in with BPC efforts. The United States typically conducts BPC operations where state actors have active security interests, which tend to be in areas experiencing some degree of violence. This same environment does not always lend itself to researchers conducting surveys. Therefore, to harness the potential benefits of understanding how differences in power distance and individualism can affect BPC operations, this thesis turns to an alternative data source that researchers have found to correlate with power distance and individualism: per capita GDP.

In their paper, "A Framework to Update Hofstede's Cultural Value Indices: Economic Dynamic and Institutional Stability," Linghui Tang and Peter Koveos demonstrate through quantitative analysis that the cultural dimensions of power distance and individualism are correlated to per capita GDP. Specifically, they find that as per capita GDP increases, individualism increases, and power distance decreases.[72] This is likely because, in societies with high individualism, people are expected to take care of themselves, which, in turn, tends to engender a higher degree of innovation. Furthermore, if an individual is innovative and prosperous on his or her own, as opposed to being dependent on society's leadership to provide that prosperity, he or she expects their society's power and authority to be dispersed to a greater degree.

Tang and Koveos argue that, as a result of the correlation of per capita GDP with both power distance and individualism, these two cultural dimensions can be updated annually based on economic indicators. Additionally, Tang and Koveos find that Hofstede's other dimensions, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity, are more closely tied to institutional considerations than economic factors.[73]

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72 Tang and Koveos, "A Framework to Update Hofstede's Cultural Value Indices: Economic Dynamics and Institutional Stability."

73 Ibid., 1054.

Of note, other scholars have corroborated Tang and Koveos' findings. For example, Scott Nadler and James Zemanek find in their examination of cultural differences and economic development that per capita GDP is correlated to power distance and individualism as well.[74] Similarly, Yuriy Gorodnichenko and Gerard Roland find in their paper, "Which Dimensions of Culture Matter for Long Term Growth?" that individualism "has a strong and robust effect on log GDP per capita."[75] The use of log per capita GDP by Gorodnichenko and Roland is significant because it accounts for the wide disparity in global per capita GDPs. As an example, if a researcher did not apply the log to the per capita GDP of countries such as Singapore or the United States, these countries would skew the data on the high end. Conversely, countries such as Bangladesh would skew the data on the lower end. For this same reason, this thesis employs the log per capita GDP in its research, allowing the data to be transformed without losing its usefulness.

The findings of each of these studies are significant for the DOD because major information gaps exist regarding cultural values in many regions of the world. While this limits the DOD's ability to understand certain cultural values (uncertainty avoidance and masculinity), it does not limit the understanding of individualism and power distance. As a result of Tang's and Koveos' research, which finds a correlation between high per capita GDP with both high individualism and low power distance, the DOD has a variable—per capita GDP—to substitute for these dimensions when conducting analysis of areas lacking cultural data.

Given this discussion, this thesis will use GDP as a proxy for measuring power distance and individualism in assessing BPC relationships. It proposes that approaching BPC with a cultural lens will allow the DOD to better understand how specific cultures shape behavior. Understanding the impact of this type of dynamic on BPC efforts is essential for the U.S. military as it moves forward in its partnerships and alliances.

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74 Nadler and Zemanek, "Cultural Differences and Economic Development of 31 Countries."

75 Gorodnichenko and Roland, "Culture, Institutions, and Development: Which Dimensions of Culture Matter for Long-Run Growth."

E. CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed several definitions of BPC, ultimately settling on the one provided by Heisler: "a whole-of-government approach that refers to any activity to enhance a partner's ability to provide security within or outside of their borders."[76] The chapter then analyzed the existing body of research on BPC, which it divides into three categories: qualitative, quantitative, and organizational design modeling. Finally, this chapter established a gap in the existing body of research, specifically regarding the use of two of Hofstede's cultural dimensions as an analytical tool: power distance, and individualism.

Chapter III will build a logistics regression model to determine which factors affect whether the BPC client achieves military victory over their opponent. This will involve merging multiple datasets, both categorical and continuous, to capture the applicable factors in determining the probability of a BPC client's success or failure. Chapter III will also establish four hypotheses about the outcome of the analysis based on assumptions and observations found in the qualitative BPC literature, as well as personal anecdotal experience in conducting BPC operations in practice.

76 Heisler, "By, With, and Through," 50.

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III. INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS, CULTURE, AND BPC

A. INTRODUCTION

Defense analysis is not the only field where practitioners consider international partnerships crucial to organizational success. In fact, military researchers can draw unique conclusions and gain new insights by employing the research methods from many other disciplines when studying defense-related issues. For example, as highlighted in Chapter II, international business researchers have conducted countless studies on the roles that culture, governance, and relationships play in forming successful international partnerships and affecting profits. These studies offer useful clues for how to build successful transnational partnerships.

Bridging the gap between the international business and defense analysis fields, this thesis employs a statistical model to quantitatively analyze specific factors that could affect BPC efforts. Specifically, the thesis uses techniques often employed to analyze the factors affecting international commercial relationships to examine international security partnerships. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the model, which analyzes BPC and the variables the model contains.

This chapter begins with a broad overview of the BPC model (Figure 1) employed in the thesis. The chapter then describes each of the variables used in the model. This description begins with the dependent variable, which is if the client achieved military victory. The chapter then summarizes each of the model's sixteen independent variables. Following this summary, the chapter introduces the mathematical formulations for the logistics regression model, which tests the sixteen independent variables for their effect on the outcome. Finally, this chapter proposes four hypotheses with expected effects between the model's variables of interest and its outcome.

B. THE MODEL

As Chapter II notes, the SWORD model provides an example of how to conduct quantitative analysis of a complex, conflict-based dataset.[77] This thesis draws from this model to build its own unique formula. Specifically, whereas the SWORD model focuses on the likelihood of success or failure of a counterinsurgency campaign, this thesis focuses on the significance of specific variables within the context of BPC operations and relationships. In order to build this model, this thesis defines key terms, specifically the BPC sponsor-client relationship, and the model's unit of analysis.

1. Definition of Sponsor and Client

Drawing from the UCDP External Support Project-Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset, this thesis defines the sponsor as "a party providing external support."[78] This party can include "a state government, a diaspora, a non-state rebel group, an organization such as an NGO [non-governmental organization] or IGO [inter-governmental organization], a political party, a company or a lobby group, or even an individual."[79]

A client is the receiver of a sponsor's support, and is one of the primary actors within the conflict.[80] Further, a client can be either a state or non-state actor. For example, the Salvadoran Civil War, fought between the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martì National Liberation Front (FMLN) provides a useful illustration of the sponsor and client relationship. Within the conflict, the United States was a sponsor to the Government of El Salvador. Conversely, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a sponsor to the FMLN. Within this context, both the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN were clients, albeit on opposing sides of the conflict.

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77 Fishel and Manwaring, "The SWORD Model of Counterinsurgency: A Summary and Update."

78 Mihai Cătălin Croicu et al., *UCDP External Support Project- Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset Codebook*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2011), 5, http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/159/159834_1ucdp_external_support_disaggregated_codebook_1.0.pdf.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

2. Unit of Analysis

The BPC model employs a unit of analysis defined by four characteristics: the conflict, the client, the sponsor, and the year in which the support occurred. Each conflict in the combined dataset is uniquely differentiated. For example, the dataset discriminates between the Soviet-Afghan War and Operation Enduring Freedom, even though both conflicts occurred primarily in Afghanistan.

Within each conflict observation, the dataset differentiates between each unique sponsor-client pairing. For example, during Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), both the United States and the United Kingdom provided support to the Government of Iraq. The dataset recognizes the U.S.-Iraq, and UK-Iraq, sponsor-client pairings separately.

Within each conflict/sponsor-client observation, the dataset further divides the observations by year. As an example, within the context of OIF, the dataset differentiates between the United States providing the Government of Iraq weapons in 2004, and the United States providing the Government of Iraq weapons in 2005. This results in a dataset broken down into conflict/sponsor-client/year observations. These conflict/sponsor-client/year observations are thus the unit of analysis for this thesis.

Within each conflict/sponsor-client/year observation, the dataset differentiates between ten different types of support, which the next section explains further. For example, within the context of OIF, the dataset differentiates between the United States providing the Government of Iraq weapons, from the United States providing the Government of Iraq intelligence. In other words, the model measures different types of sponsor support independently.

3. Causal Relationship between the Dependent and Independent Variables

At the most basic level, the model seeks to answer what variables most heavily influence the likelihood of client success in a BPC relationship, which this thesis defines as definitive military victory; this definition will be explained further later in this chapter.

This thesis postulates that cultural similarities, governmental similarities, increased number of sponsors, and demonstrated long-term support increases the

likelihood of success for a sponsor. The variables associated with these suppositions are depicted in Figure 1.

Primary Variables of Interest	Secondary Variables of Interest	Cultural and Political Positions	Types of BPC Support	Outcome
Difference in Sponsor-Client Log Per Capita GDP*	Number of Sponsors per Client	Sponsor Log Per Capita GDP	Troops	Client Achieved Military Victory -or- Client Failed to Achieve Military Victory
Difference in Sponsor-Client Form of Government	Number of Years Sponsor-Client Support	Sponsor Form of Government	Access to Territory	
			Access to Infrastructure	
			Weapons	
			Materiel and Logistics	
			Training	
			Funding	
			Intelligence	
			Other Forms of Support	
			Support Unknown	
* Log Per Capita GDP is being used as a proxy for Hofstede's cultural dimensions of Power Distance and Individualism				

Figure 1. Diagram of the Model

C. THE VARIABLES

1. The Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of this thesis is the outcome of a BPC effort, which the thesis divides into two distinct and definitive possibilities. The first possible outcome of the model is a "client achieved military victory." The thesis defines a client's military victory as being synonymous with the BPC sponsor achieving its desired end state for the BPC relationship. Outcomes in this category are based on two assumptions. First, the model assumes that if the BPC client was militarily victorious then the BPC sponsor also achieved its desired end state. Second, the model only identifies the BPC client as victorious if the client was able to "comprehensively defeat or eliminate the

opposition."[81] This outcome, which the thesis definitively annotates in the dataset, is the only one that this thesis recognizes as equating to "client achieved military victory."

The second possible outcome for the dependent variable is "client failed to achieve military victory." The thesis has recorded any other conflict termination outcome, as an outcome other than a client's military victory. For example, outcomes such as victory for the opposing side, "peace agreement," "ceasefire agreement," "low activity," and "actor ceases to exist" are coded as "client failed to achieve military victory."[82] Many of these outcomes are ambiguous, and cannot provide enough fidelity to reliably assume them to ultimately have achieved the sponsor's desired end state for the relationship; therefore, this thesis codes these outcomes as "client failed to achieve military victory."

2. Primary Variables of Interest

The thesis investigates two primary variables of interest: the difference in culture between a BPC sponsor and client; and the difference in forms of government between a BPC sponsor and client. As Chapter II highlights, Hofstede et al., along with Spencer-Oatey, stress the impact of culture on individual and collective actions as well as the interpretation of these actions.[83] Of note, in his research on BPC, Michael Veneri also identifies the significance of culture in BPC efforts summarizing quite bluntly, that "culture matters."[84] However, measuring cultural differences is difficult, especially in quantitative analysis. The strong body of literature addressing the correlation between economic and cultural data, outlined in Chapter II, makes economic data, particularly GDP, a useful proxy variable to culture. Building on these observations, in order to measure cultural differences, this thesis uses the differences in sponsor and client log per

81 Joakim Kreutz, *UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset Codebook v. 2–2015* (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2016), 3.

82 Ibid., 2–4.

83 Geert H. Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Abridged ed., Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984), 5; Helen Spencer-Oatey, "What Is Culture? A Compilation of Quotations" (Warwick: University of Warwick, 2012), 4.

84 Veneri, "The Partner Predicament," 11.

capita GDP as a proxy for the differences between sponsor and client on Hofstede's cultural dimension of power distance and individualism. The use of the log of per capita GDP prevents disparities in global GDP from skewing the model's results. Additionally, the use of GDP data allows for further insight into the effects of national wealth on BPC efforts.

As Chapter II discusses, Hermann highlights that much of the quantitative analysis regarding BPC has merely identified that the more similar a client is to its sponsor, the better propensity for success.[85] This thesis approaches the analysis of BPC from the opposite direction. Instead of asking how similarities make the BPC effort more likely to succeed, it examines how differences affect the outcome.

The second primary variable of interest is the difference in sponsor and client forms of government. The model includes this variable because analysts and planners often consider the type of government such an important factor in international relationships. As Chapter II highlights, Hodges and Roland found that when choosing partner units, it is important to assess the relationship the unit's leader has with both the populace of the local area and with the ruling government.[86] Similarly, RAND has explored the effects of government types on stability operations and BPC.[87] While both of these research efforts have sought to understand the effects of the indigenous government on a BPC effort, they have not analyzed the impact of differences in governmental types between a sponsor and client on BPC efforts.

This thesis uses polity scores, which are scaled values assigned to a country's specific form of government drawn from the Center for Systemic Peace Polity Dataset, to measure quantitatively the differences between sponsor and client governments.[88] The Center for Systemic Peace Polity Dataset assigns a numerical value to a spectrum of

85 William Hermann, "Choosing to Win: How SOF Can Better Select Partner Forces for Capacity Building," v.

86 David Hodges and Robert Rowland, "Finding the Right Indigenous Leader and Force for Counterinsurgency Operations."

87 Marquis, ed., *Developing an Army Strategy for Building Partner Capacity for Stability Operations.*

88 "Polity IV Project, Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2015 Dataset."

governmental types. These scores range, in whole numbers, from a full democracy (10) to a full autocracy (-10).[89] This score is then used as a proxy for what is normally considered highly qualitative data. This is an important variable to include in the model because scholars often group governments by their type.

The governance variable matters because one may assume that sponsors with a strongly democratic government will have more success building partner capacity with clients that also have strongly democratic governments. This would be akin to the United States (10) conducting BPC operations with countries like Costa Rica (10), or the Philippines (8). This same assumption could be taken a step further, and posit that the United States would be less successful conducting BPC operations with countries having a more autocratic style of government. An example of this would be the United States (10) conducting BPC operations with Tajikistan (-3), or the United Arab Emirates (-8). This thesis examines further whether or not a difference in regime type influences BPC success or failure.

3. Secondary Variables of Interest

This thesis further analyzes two secondary variables of interest: number of sponsors per year, and number of years of support by a sponsor to its client. In much of the BPC literature and in the policy world, the number of sponsors within a given state per year is one of the most studied variables in BPC success or failure. Many practitioners consider multinational efforts as the hallmark of legitimacy in international intervention. Additionally, multinational efforts, in theory, spread the burden of financial costs and national sacrifices among a coalition's members. For example, in his opening comments of the 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy, President Barack Obama wrote, "Abroad, we are demonstrating that while we will act unilaterally against threats to our core interests, we are stronger when we mobilize collective action."[90] The word "partner" is mentioned seventy-one times in the document. While qualitatively the number of

89 Ibid.

90 "National Security Strategy" (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015).

sponsors seems to be of the utmost importance, this thesis examines what effect the number of sponsors has on BPC efforts specifically.

In addition to the number of sponsors, this thesis also examines the cumulative effect of the years of a sponsor's support to a client. As Chapter II discusses, many researchers consider commitment, consistency, and continuity to be pillars of BPC success. Heisler, Terry, and Cabahug all mention elements of long-term support as central to BPC effectiveness.[91] To examine this aspect of conventional BPC wisdom, this thesis measures the effect of the sum of the sponsor's years of support to a given client on the outcome of the BPC. Similar to each of the other primary and secondary variables of interest, the thesis will examine the number of years of support quantitatively.

4. Sponsor-Specific Cultural and Political Conditions

In addition to focusing on variables between the client and sponsor, this thesis investigates variables found outside of the sponsor-client relationship that may influence BPC efforts. Specifically, the thesis accounts for two control variables regarding the sponsor. First, using the sponsor's log per capita GDP, the proposed model controls for national wealth of the sponsor. This inclusion allows the model to account for the possibility that sponsors with higher wealth are more likely to succeed in BPC efforts. Second, the model accounts for the sponsor's form of government using the sponsor's polity score found in the Center for Systemic Peace Polity Dataset. Similar to national wealth, certain forms of government may be inherently more (or less) likely to succeed in BPC efforts. These control variables are distinct from the primary variables of interest in that the control variables focus specifically on the sponsor's values (for log per capita GDP and polity score), rather than the difference in values between the sponsor and client.

91 Heisler, "By, With, and Through"; Terry, "Principles of Building Partnership Capacity"; Cabahug, "SOF Joint Combined Exchange Training from a Host Nation's Perspective."

The thesis includes these control variables in the analysis in order to account for Barnett's "Core-Gap Model."[92] Essentially, this inclusion prevents the relative wealth and capability of the "functioning core" from skewing the analysis of the variables of interest. While the effects of the sponsor's wealth and culture on BPC efforts would be interesting, analysis of these specific variables is outside the scope of this thesis. The inclusion of these variables, rather, is designed to ensure the primary and secondary variables of interest are examined in the most controlled manner.

5. Types of BPC Support

While this thesis focuses primarily on the effect cultural and governmental differences have on BPC efforts, it cannot do this without accounting for certain factors associated with BPC. When considering the dynamics of BPC efforts, Theater Special Operation Command planners often focus on the types of support each client should receive. To account for this, the thesis uses ten categorical variables, valued at either 0 or 1, related to various types of external support: troops, access to territory, access to infrastructure, weapons, materiel and logistics, training, funding, intelligence, other forms of support, and support unknown. Essentially, these variables indicate if a specific type of support was present or absent in the BPC effort. Similar to conditions associated with the sponsor, the model includes these ten variables in order to assess the primary and secondary variables of interest while accounting for other factors that may influence the outcome of the effort. A summary of all independent variables is listed in Table 1.

92 Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century*.

Table 1. Independent Variable Summary Chart

Independent Variable Name	Brief Description
Difference in Sponsor-Client Log Per Capita GDP	This economic data is a proxy to measure the differences in Hofstede's cultural dimensions of power distance and individualism between the sponsor and client.[93]
Difference in Sponsor-Client Form of Government	The difference between the sponsor's polity score, and the client's polity score. These scores, which are a scaled value assigned to a country's specific form of government, are drawn from the Center for Systemic Peace Polity Dataset.[94]
Number of Sponsors per Client	The sum of the number of sponsors providing support to a single client in a given year.
Number of Years Sponsor-Client Support	The sum of the cumulative years of support a client received from a given sponsor.
Sponsor Log Per Capita GDP	This accounts for the possibility that sponsors with higher national wealth are more successful at BPC.[95]
Sponsor Form of Government	The sponsor's polity score, as drawn from the Center for Systemic Peace Polity Dataset.[96] This accounts for the possibility that sponsors with a specific form of government are more successful at BPC.
Troops	Indicates whether or not the sponsor sent troops to fight alongside the client. This is different than troops sent in a non-fighting role.[97]
Access to Territory	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided territory for the client to operate from or stage out of.[98]
Access to Infrastructure	Indicates whether or not the sponsor allowed the client to use the sponsor's military or intelligence infrastructure.[99]
Weapons	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided the client with weapons. This includes providing personnel as technicians in support of weapon's maintenance.[100]

93 Linghui Tang and Peter Koveos, "A Framework to Update Hofstede's Cultural Value Indices: Economic Dynamics and Institutional Stability"; "The World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset (Current US$)."

94 "Polity IV Project, Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2015 Dataset."

95 "The World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset (Current US$)."

96 Ibid.

97 Croicu et al., *UCDP External Support Project–Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset Codebook*, 14.

98 Ibid., 15.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

Independent Variable Name	Brief Description
Materiel and Logistics	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided the client with non-lethal supplies. This includes providing personnel as technicians in support of non-lethal equipment maintenance.[101]
Training	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided the client with trainers who remained in a non-combat role.[102]
Funding	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided the client with funding used for the conduct of armed conflict.[103]
Intelligence	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided the client with intelligence obtained by the sponsor.[104]
Other Forms of Support	Indicates whether or not the sponsor provided definitive support not covered in one of the other variables, such as recruiting opportunities or "intermediating transfers of weaponry."[105]
Support Unknown	Indicates that researchers were able to find "reliable talk of support but do not specify of what type."[106]

D. FORMULATIONS

This thesis uses logistic regression modeling to analyze the relationship between the primary and secondary variables of interest and a BPC outcome. Researchers use logistic regression modeling to predict the probability of an outcome with two possible results by analyzing the effects of one or more predictor variables. To achieve this, the thesis employs two models. First, "Model I" examines the relationship between the variables of interest and the outcome within the confines of a linear relationship. The second, "Model II," allows for a curvilinear relationship, demonstrating a more dynamic relationship. More information on summary statistics can be found in the Appendix.

101 Ibid., 16.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid., 17.

106 Ibid.

Equation 1, Model I (Linear Relationship)

$$\begin{aligned} Outcome = \alpha_0 &+ \alpha_1 \Delta \log per\ capita\ GDP + \alpha_2\ Sponsor \log per\ capita\ GDP \\ &+ \alpha_3 \Delta\ Polity + \alpha_4\ Sponsor\ Polity + \alpha_5\ Number\ of\ Sponsors \\ &+ \alpha_6\ Number\ of\ Years\ Support + \alpha_7\ Troops + \alpha_8\ Access\ to\ Territory \\ &+ \alpha_9\ Access\ to\ Infrastructure + \alpha_{10}\ Weapons \\ &+ \alpha_{11}\ Material\ and\ Logistics + \alpha_{12}\ Training\ \alpha_{13}\ Funding \\ &+ \alpha_{14}\ Intelligence + \alpha_{15}\ Other\ forms\ of\ Support \\ &+ \alpha_{16}\ Support\ Unknown + \varepsilon_1 \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

Equation 2, Model II (Curvilinear Relationship):

$$\begin{aligned} Outcome = \beta_0 &+ \beta_1 \Delta \log per\ capita\ GDP + \beta_2 \Delta \log per\ capita\ GDP^2 \\ &+ \beta_3\ Sponsor \log per\ capita\ GDP + \beta_4 \Delta\ Polity + \beta_5\ Sponsor\ Polity \\ &+ \beta_6\ Number\ of\ Sponsors + \beta_7\ Number\ of\ Years\ Support \\ &+ \beta_8\ Troops + \beta_9\ Access\ to\ Territory + \beta_{10}\ Access\ to\ Infrastructure \\ &+ \beta_{11}\ Weapons + \beta_{12}\ Material\ and\ Logistics + \beta_{13}\ Training \\ &+ \beta_{14}\ Funding + \beta_{15}\ Intelligence + \beta_{16}\ Other\ forms\ of\ Support \\ &+ \beta_{17}\ Support\ Unknown + \varepsilon_2 \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

E. HYPOTHESES

This thesis posits four hypotheses about the variables of interest and their effects on the models' outcomes based on assumptions and observations found in qualitative BPC literature, as well as on personal anecdotal experience in conducting BPC operations in the field. As with the variables described above, these hypotheses center on the outcome for the BPC client:

1. Hypothesis 1

Building on the assertion by Hofstede et al. that organizations that are similar in national wealth (and thus similar in power distance and individualism) will have an easier time developing an effective relationship, hypothesis one posits: *An increase in the difference of log per capita GDP between the sponsor and client will lower the probability of BPC success. Conversely, a decrease in the difference of log per capita GDP between a BPC sponsor and BPC client will raise the probability of a BPC success.*

2. Hypothesis 2

Qualitative literature on BPC asserts that long-term sponsor commitment will increase the probability of BPC success. Hypothesis two therefore posits: *The longer the time commitment of the sponsor to the client, the greater the probability of BPC success. Conversely, the shorter the time commitment of the sponsor to the client, the lesser the probability of BPC success.*

3. Hypothesis 3

Coalitions, partnerships, and alliances are the cornerstone of U.S. National Security Strategy and National Military Strategy and provide an additional layer of legitimacy to BPC efforts as well as more resources. Therefore: *the greater the number of sponsors, the higher the probability of BPC success; conversely, the fewer the number of sponsors, the lower the probability of BPC success.*

4. Hypothesis 4

Similar to hypothesis one, this hypothesis postulates that sponsors and clients with similar government structures will have an easier time developing an effective relationship. As an example, heavily democratic sponsors will have a higher probability of success in their BPC efforts with democratic clients than with autocratic clients. Therefore: *the greater the differences in government types between client and sponsor, the lower the probability of BPC success; conversely, the lesser the difference in government types, the greater the probability of BPC success.*

F. CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the models this thesis uses to analyze BPC relationships and programs. It highlighted the use of modeling in previous conflict research, and introduced the primary and secondary variables of interest associated with this research effort: difference in sponsor and client culture, difference in sponsor and client forms of government, number of sponsors per year, and number of years sponsor has supported the client.

The chapter also underscored the variables that the thesis uses to account for socio-economic conditions specific to the sponsor, as well as the variables the thesis utilizes to account for various forms of support. Lastly, the chapter provided a brief overview of the logistics regression models that this thesis employs to analyze BPC. Building on the logistics regression models, this chapter concluded by introducing the four hypotheses this thesis tests with logistics regression.

Chapter IV will discuss the results of the two logistics regression models, as well as what inferences can be drawn from them. Following a review of the results, Chapter IV will review the thesis' four hypotheses, and discuss any implications the results of the regression may have on them. Lastly, Chapter IV will briefly review both the receiver operating characteristic curve and Bayesian model averaging—two statistical methods that are employed to demonstrate the robustness and strength of the BPC model.

IV. THE EFFECTS OF CULTURE, COMMITMENT, AND CONSENSUS ON BPC

A. INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, big data analysis has emerged as a means to measure success in marketing research and other business endeavors. Commercial firms are now able to conduct regressions on, and apply algorithms to, massive datasets, which enables them to identify opportunities and streamline processes. Simply put, big data provides insights at the macro level by identifying trends in thousands, hundreds of thousands, and even millions of data points.

This thesis uses big data analysis to better understand the conditions that lead to success in building partnership capacity (BPC). Specifically, this thesis tests 131,072 configurations of a model that uses over 30,000 data points divided into 1,873 observations to gain a fresh perspective on BPC. As described in Chapter III, the thesis draws from several conflict-related datasets to create a composite dataset specifically focused on BPC efforts across the globe. This composite dataset allows for the employment of the same techniques data analysts have applied in commercial endeavors to gain insights into issues associated with BPC.

This chapter uses the models, introduced in Chapter III, to examine variables that lead to BPC success, which it defines as the client achieving military victory. The chapter begins with an introduction and brief overview of the regression results, including the analysis of both the primary and secondary variables of interest, as well as a discussion on the explanatory strength of Model II over Model I. The chapter then reveals the findings of the thesis' hypotheses introduced in Chapter III. The chapter concludes by describing the statistical method the thesis uses to check the predictive accuracy of the model, the statistical method used to explore alternate explanations for the effects of the inputs (independent variables) on Model II's outcome, as well as the limits to the selected model.

B. MAIN RESULTS

Model II reveals an interesting dynamic between the outcome of BPC efforts and the primary variables of interest, which are the difference in sponsor-client power distance and individualism, as well as difference in sponsor-client forms of government. First, with regard to difference in sponsor-client power distance and individualism, Model II demonstrates that, generally, the more disparate the cultures are, the less likely the BPC sponsor-client pairing will achieve success. There are some exceptions to this finding, discussed in depth later in this chapter.

This finding is, perhaps, not surprising. Two examples that illustrate the effects of differences in culture on BPC are the U.S. military's and NATO's BPC efforts in Hungary and Ukraine since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. As is indicated in Table 2, in Hungary, U.S. trainers, along with their NATO counterparts, worked with a culture with similar power distance and individualism scores to the United States:[107]

Table 2. United States-Hungary Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
United States (Sponsor)	40	91
Hungary (Client)	46	80
Difference	6	11

These cultural similarities facilitated the introduction of concepts such as the delegation of authority and distributed decision making, which then enabled the creation of an effective noncommissioned officer (NCO) corps. At the 2011 Conference of European Armies for Noncommissioned Officers, Hungarian Command Sergeant Major Lazlo Toth noted, "Twenty-five years ago, the [Hungarian] army reflected the Soviet style. Everything was in the officers' hands … [Now] NCOs have power as leaders. That

107 "Geert Hofstede Country Comparison Tool," accessed August 30, 2016, https://geert-hofstede.com/united-states.html.

means they have to accept the responsibility that comes with that power."[108] Hungarian noncommissioned officers now find themselves serving a more significant role in the operations and administration of their country's armed forces—a role that was most likely assumed as a result of Hungarian culture and its similarities to U.S. culture, particularly in power distance and individualism.

Conversely, as indicated in Table 3, Ukraine has a much different set of power distance and individualism scores than the United States:[109]

Table 3. United States-Ukraine Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
United States (Sponsor)	40	91
Ukraine (Client)	92	25
Difference	52	66

These differences suggest that the United States, along with NATO forces, will likely find it more difficult to introduce concepts such as decentralized operations or the empowerment of subordinates.[110] As with Hungary, NATO forces have attempted to create an NCO corps. However, a news release notes that, "For [Ukrainian] NCO reform to be a success, a number of legislative and structural changes should be introduced and substantial work is on-going in this area with support from Ukraine's Minister of Defence [sic] and the Chief of Staff."[111] NATO recognizes the difficulties associated with introducing an NCO system into the Ukrainian military, and in doing so is learning to

108 "The United States Army in Europe," accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.eur.army.mil/news/archive2011/features/06072011_internationalNCO.htm.

109 "Geert Hofstede Country Comparison Tool."

110 "Dimensions– Geert Hofstede," accessed June 2, 2016, https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html.

111 "NATO– News: Building a Corps of Professional Non-Commissioned Officers in Ukraine, 18-Apr.-2016," accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_129998.htm?selectedLocale=en.

navigate the differences in cultural dimensions between the NATO sponsors and their Ukrainian client.

Unfortunately, Model II does not reveal a statistically significant finding with regard to differences in forms of government. As Chapter II notes, a review of the qualitative body of literature regarding BPC as well as the authors' own experiences suggest that the more similar a sponsor and client are in their governmental type, for example democratic or autocratic, the more likely the pairing would achieve success. This is noteworthy because forms of government are important factors when policy makers, defense planners, and special operations activity coordinators develop country and regional engagement plans. President Obama noted this in the 2015 National Security Strategy, stating, "Underpinning it all [2015 National Security Strategy], we are upholding our enduring commitment to the advancement of democracy and human rights."[112] In other words, a special operations planner would likely assume that it would be easier for the United States, a full democracy according to the Center for Systemic Peace (CSP), to build an effective BPC relationship with the Republic of Korea, a democracy according to the CSP, than with Vietnam, an autocracy according to the CSP.[113] Model II, however, cannot confirm or deny this assumption.

Regarding the secondary variables of interest, number of sponsors per client and number of years of sponsor-client support, Model II reveals two fascinating, and unexpected, findings. First, regarding number of sponsors per client, Model II finds that, the more sponsors involved with a single client, the less likely the client will achieve success. This finding is significant because, according to the 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy, "In an interconnected world, there are no global problems that can be solved without the United States, and few that can be solved by the United States alone."[114] In other words, this finding runs contrary to long-held beliefs regarding the political and military importance of international alliances and cooperation in maintaining global

112 "National Security Strategy" (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015).

113 "Polity IV Project, Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2015 Dataset."

114 "National Security Strategy," (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015), 3.

security.[115] Model II's findings suggest that coalitions actually impede BPC success, not help it.

A review of recent U.S.-led BPC partnerships reveals, however, that the finding that coalitions are more problematic than helpful to BPC success should not be unexpected. For example, in the months and years following September 11, 2001, the U.S. Government, along with its allies, spent a great deal of time, money and effort conducting combined BPC efforts with Afghan security forces through the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). ISAF struggled with unity of command, including having to account for each country's political requirements, differing command structures, as well as varying capabilities, equipment, and experience.[116] All of these factors made the successful execution of coordinated BPC operations in Afghanistan challenging.

Today, the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF) are part of Operation Resolute Support, which NATO launched after the stand-down of ISAF in 2015.[117] The NATO website dedicated to Operation Resolute Support lists 39 contributing countries, with the United States, Germany, and Italy providing the three largest troop contributions.[118] With the ANDSF constantly working towards national legitimacy, fighting a resurgent Taliban, and dealing with the introduction of ISIL to the battlefield, Afghanistan remains an extremely challenging environment in which to conduct BPC. It is also unlikely that this complex BPC effort will come to a close in the near future. As John Sopko, the U.S. Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction noted in 2016, "Without the strong monitoring and mentoring arm of U.S.

115 Mark Thornhill, "Coalition Warfare: The Leadership Challenges" (Monograph, School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College, 2010).

116 Ibid.

117 "USCENTCOM | Resolute Support," accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.centcom.mil/OPERATIONS-AND-EXERCISES/RESOLUTE-SUPPORT//.

118 "News | Resolute Support Mission," accessed August 30, 2016, http://www.rs.nato.int/troop-numbers-and-contributions/index.php.

and Coalition troops to help, it is increasingly unlikely they [the ANDSF] will develop into a robust and sustainable force."[119]

Conversely, U.S. efforts in another theater of the Global War on Terrorism, the Philippines, were much less complex. From the beginning, Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines (OEF-P) was a smaller effort than operations in Iraq or Afghanistan.[120] While the support of Japan, Australia, and at times Malaysia,[121] gave political credibility to OEF-P, the limited involvement of other countries reduced many of the issues that emerged with the larger coalition in Afghanistan. In the end, the U.S. military successfully partnered with Philippine forces to reduce insurgent activity in the southern archipelago, including the regions of Sulu, Basilan, and Tawi-Tawi.[122] Comparing BPC successes in the Philippines with the challenges in Afghanistan have some important limitations. Most notably, the United States did not have to build security forces from scratch in the Philippines as it did in Afghanistan. The differences, however, do not overshadow the tactical benefits the BPC effort in the Philippines enjoyed from fewer sponsors being involved.

Lastly, Model II demonstrates that the longer a sponsor supports a client the less likely it is the client will achieve success; this finding is also counterintuitive to qualitative literature on BPC. The conventional wisdom in the literature is that, the longer the relationship, the greater the chance of success in BPC; the results of Model II directly contradict this assumption. As a result, this thesis reviews this finding in depth in the hypotheses section of this chapter as well as in the recommendations section of Chapter VI.

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119 John Sopko, "SIGAR Testimony Before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Committee on Armed Services U.S. House of Representatives," Testimony (Washington, DC: Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, February 12, 2016), 14.

120 Hy S Rothstein, "Less Is More: The Problematic Future of Irregular Warfare in an Era of Collapsing States," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (March 2007): 284, doi:10.1080/01436590601153663.

121 Peter Brookes, "Flashpoint: No Bungle in the Jungle," *Armed Forces Journal*, September 1, 2007, http://armedforcesjournal.com/flashpoint-no-bungle-in-the-jungle/.

122 Linda Robinson et al., *U.S. Special Operations Forces in the Philippines, 2001–2014* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016), xviii.

C. REVIEW OF MODELS

The thesis draws its analysis from Model II, as opposed to Model I, because Model II better accounts for the dynamic relationships between cultural differences and BPC outcomes. Both regression results from Model I and II are displayed in Table 4. In addition, as is indicated in Table 4, Model II has the lower Akaike information criterion (AIC) score.[123] This finding confirms the relative quality of Model II over Model I. In other words, Model II better explains the relationship between the primary and secondary variables of interest and the outcome of a BPC effort.

123 AIC: "Criterion, introduced by Akaike in 1969, for choosing between competing statistical models. For categorical data this amounts to choosing the model that minimizes G2–2v, where G2 is the likelihood-ratio goodness-of-fit statistic v is the number of degrees of freedom associated with the model." Graham J. G. Upton and Ian Cook, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Statistics*, Oxford Paperback Reference (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Table 4. Regression Results

Variables	Model I (Linear)	Model II (Curvilinear)
Difference in Sponsor-Client Log per capita GDP	-0.287** (0.125)	1.331*** (0.406)
Difference in Sponsor-Client Log per capita GDP (squared)		-0.354*** (0.089)
Sponsor Log per capita GDP	0.165 (0.131)	0.228 (0.144)
Difference in Sponsor-Client Form of Government	0.034 (0.028)	0.025 (0.028)
Sponsor Form of Government	0.013 (0.025)	0.001 (0.026)
Number of Sponsors per Client	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.020*** (0.008)
Number of Years Sponsor-Client Support	-0.072* (0.039)	-0.077* (0.040)
Troops	-0.667 (0.512)	-0.571 (0.522)
Access to Territory	0.581 (0.575)	0.821 (0.588)
Access to Infrastructure	2.172*** (0.480)	2.005*** (0.497)
Weapons	-0.594 (0.566)	-0.829 (0.584)
Materiel and Logistics	-0.393 (0.507)	-0.395 (0.523)
Training	0.266 (0.431)	0.156 (0.445)
Funding	-17.011 (773.780)	-17.065 (758.367)
Intelligence	0.797 (0.886)	0.787 (0.919)
Other Forms of Support	-1.514 (0.981)	-1.771* (0.981)
Support Unknown	3.554*** (0.652)	3.763*** (0.697)
Constant	-3.747*** (1.095)	-5.163*** (1.237)
Observations	1,873	1,873
Log Likelihood	-213.554	-203.380
Akaike Inf. Crit.	461.107	442.761
Notes:	***Significant at the 1 percent level.	
	**Significant at the 5 percent level.	
	*Significant at the 10 percent level.	

D. HYPOTHESES

Chapter III proposed four testable hypotheses regarding the conditions that improve, or hinder, BPC success. The results of Model II on each of the hypotheses are summarized below.

1. Hypothesis 1

An increase in the difference of log per capita GDP, as a proxy for power distance and individualism, between the sponsor and client will lower the probability of BPC success. Conversely, a decrease in the difference of log per capita GDP, as a proxy for power distance and individualism, between a BPC sponsor and BPC client will raise the probability of a BPC success.

a. Findings Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis one is partially confirmed. As is demonstrated in Figure 2, the greater the difference in log per capita GDP, the lower the probability of success for the client. This finding, however, does not account for the low likelihood of BPC success for observations on the far left side of the x-axis (Difference in Power Distance and Individualism). Because the x-axis represents the sponsor-client difference in power distance and individualism, using log per capita GDP as a proxy, the far left side of the x-axis is reserved for BPC pairings that are highly similar in these primary variables of interest. The further to the right the observations move along the x-axis, the greater the difference in sponsor-client power distance and individualism. As such, there is an interesting dynamic at play in the curve illustrated in Figure 2.

The far left side of the x-axis, which illustrates a lower likelihood of BPC success, results from BPC pairings of sponsors and clients with similar log per capita GDPs, as well as similar power distance and individualism scores. An example that may help to illustrate this point is African Union troops assisting with military training in a neighboring state. While the sponsor may be able to offer tactical assistance and manpower, its own limitations may prevent it from building any real capacity in the client. Simply put, sponsors and clients with similar power distance and individualism scores, as well as similar log per capita GDPs, are less likely to improve capacity in the client's military through BPC efforts. With these shared variables, sponsors and clients are cultural and economic peers. This thesis refers to this phenomenon as the "near-peer" effect.

Another important finding from this hypothesis is that, as the difference in power distance and individualism continues to grow—with the observations moving to the right along the x-axis—a spike in the likelihood of success occurs before it begins to decrease. This spike suggests that there is a certain threshold of economic and cultural difference that gives room for improvement by the client, but not such a gap that the sponsor is unable to relate to the client and provide meaningful support.

Ultimately, these results indicate that there is an ideal difference in log per capita GDP (and thus power-distance and individualism) that a sponsor should consider when selecting BPC clients. When sponsors support clients with similar log per capita GDPs it may be difficult for them to provide meaningful support because sponsors may be unable to offer anything culturally, such as improved military organization or training, or economically that could improve the client's situation. Likewise, sponsors should consider the effects of selecting clients with significantly different log per capita GDPs because they will be less likely to experience success in these endeavors. In other words, GDP between client and sponsor functions like a bell curve, with too similar or too different log GDP inhibiting BPC success, and the ideal difference in the middle.

b. Results Hypothesis 1

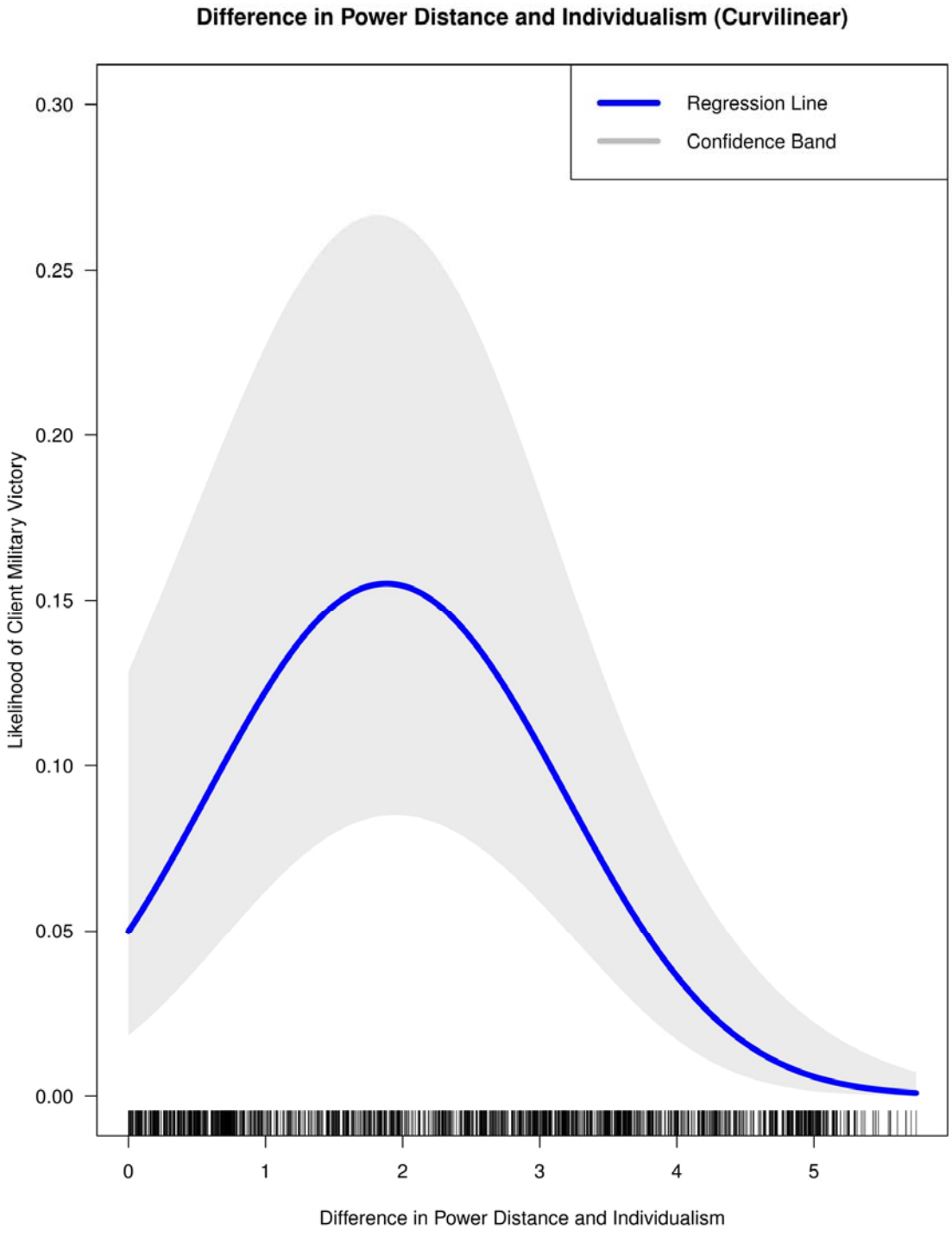

Figure 2. Regression of Difference in Power Distance and Individualism

2. Hypothesis 2

The longer the time commitment of the sponsor to the client, the greater the probability of BPC success. Conversely, the shorter the time commitment of the sponsor to the client, the lesser the probability of BPC success.

a. Findings Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis two was not confirmed. As demonstrated in Figure 3, Model II actually reveals the opposite effect; the longer a sponsor-client relationship continues in a given conflict, the less probable the sponsor-client pairing is to achieving its desired end state. This finding, however, may be the result of an overall lack of success in prolonged conflict and not just of the BPC effort. The mean length of conflict for the dataset used in this thesis is 4.48 years. Therefore, the reduction in probability of BPC success is likely explained by the effects of protracted conflicts on clients. In other words, the longer the conflict goes on, the more likely it is to end in a peace agreement, stalemate, or loss, and the less likely it will end in military victory, which is the definition of BPC success used in this thesis.

b. Results Hypothesis 2

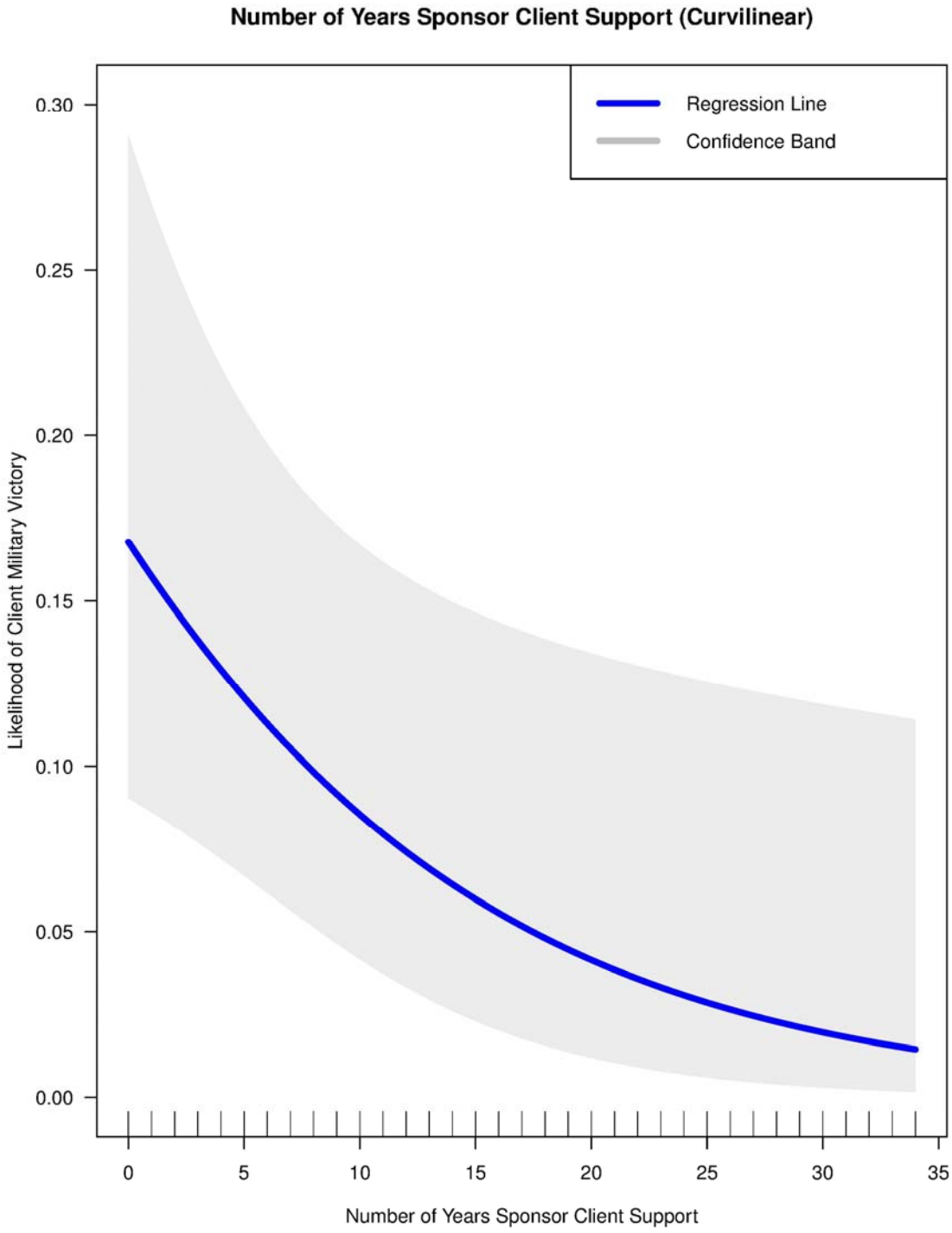

Figure 3. Regression of Number of Years of Sponsor-Client Support

3. Hypothesis 3

The greater the number of sponsors, the higher the probability of BPC success; conversely, the fewer the number of sponsors, the lower the probability of BPC success.

a. Findings Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis three is not confirmed. As is illustrated in Figure 4, the model reveals the opposite relationship between the number of sponsors and the probability of success. This finding may be because of the reasons introduced in the previous section: the more sponsors that are involved in a conflict, the more complicated the management of each sponsor-client relationship to the BPC effort. As discussed, while the presence of multiple sponsors often lends strategic legitimacy to an operation, it appears it may complicate tactical operations, and ultimately have a detrimental effect on the overall success of the BPC sponsor-client relationship, which is military victory.

b. Results Hypothesis 3

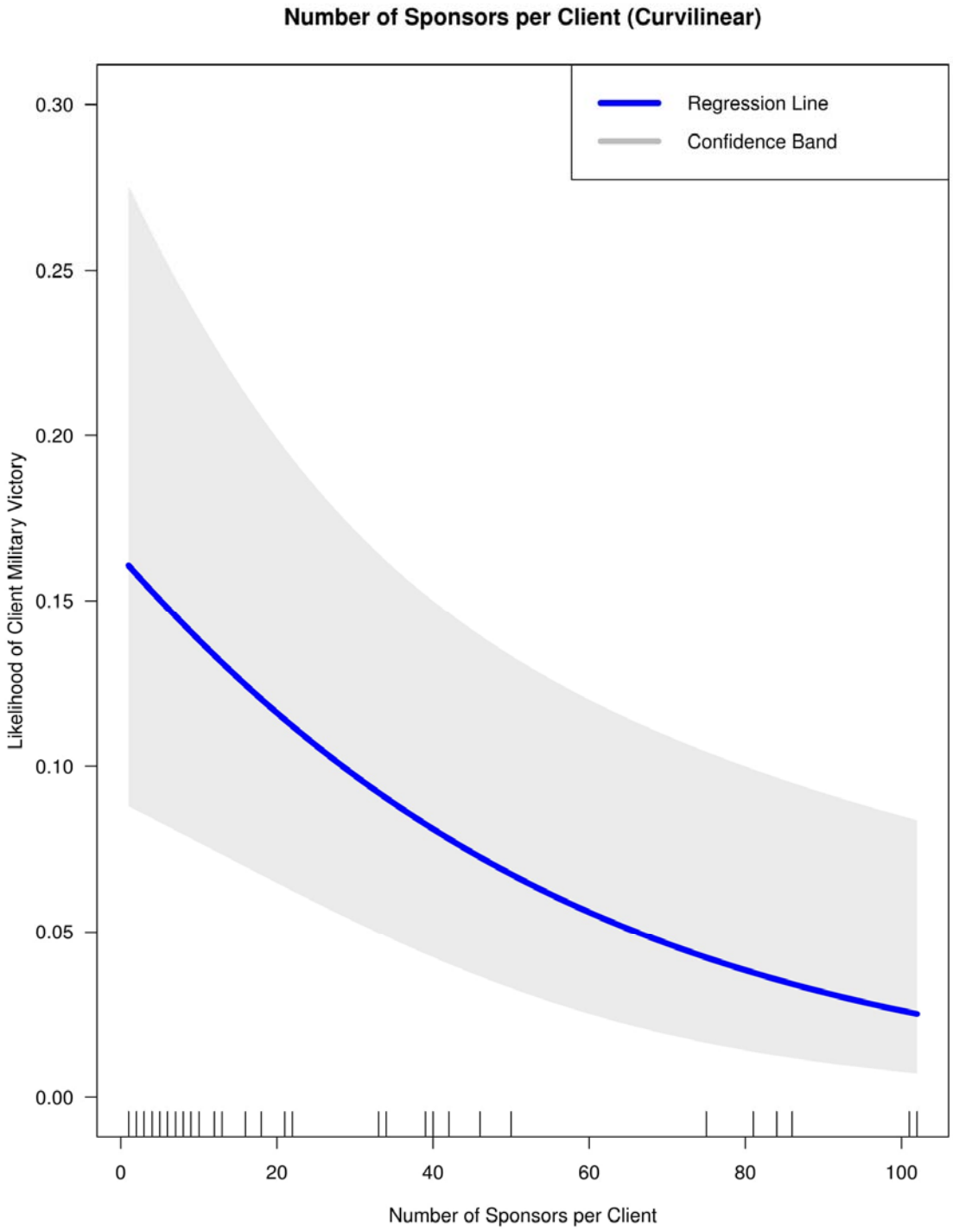

Figure 4. Regression of Number of Sponsors per Client

4. Hypothesis 4

The greater the differences in government types between client and sponsor, the lower the probability of BPC success; conversely, the lesser the difference in government types, the greater the probability of BPC success.

a. Findings Hypothesis 4

The regression results indicate that the data provided are not sufficient to identify a significant statistical relationship between a difference in sponsor-client form of government and the success of a BPC effort. Anecdotal observations and qualitative literature suggest that governmental alignment would support BPC efforts, but Model II fails to confirm or deny that observation.

Model II may fail to demonstrate a statistically significant finding in reference to the differences in forms or sponsor and client government because of the basic numeric scale the thesis employs to measure governmental differences. This thesis employs scaled scores from the Center of Systemic Peace known as polity scores, which assign numeric values from -10 (full autocracy) to +10 (full democracy). This is a simple scale that may not capture the complexities of governmental systems found across the globe. The failure to draw a conclusive finding regarding differences in forms of government highlights the importance of this topic for future BPC research efforts.

E. ACCURACY OF THE MODEL

In order to verify the accuracy of the above findings, this thesis performs several additional mathematical tests on Model II. First, this thesis employs a receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curve to diagnostically test the accuracy of Model II, and confirm the value of including the primary and secondary variables of interest in the analysis.[124] As seen in Figure 5, each ROC curve plotted provides an area under the curve (AUC)

124 ROC Curve: "The relationship between the correct "yes" responses and the proportion of incorrect "yes" responses. That information is then plotted as a curve to determine the effect the observer response criteria is having on the results." "What Is Receiver Operating Curve? (Psychology Dictionary)," Psychology Dictionary, accessed August 22, 2016, http://psychologydictionary.org/receiver-operating-characteristic-curve-roc-curve/.

statistic, which Warren notes, "…represents a measure of the overall predictive accuracy of each model."[125] In other words, the ROC curve provides an indication of how many times a model postulates an accurate prediction.

As noted by the higher AUC, the inclusion of the primary variables provides a more predictive model, indicating their usefulness in BPC planning and assessment. Many special operations planners would argue that the types of support provided most strongly influence the outcome of a BPC operation, such as training, weapons, or troops support. The ROC analysis, however, demonstrates the value of also considering this thesis' primary and secondary variables of interest in BPC efforts as well. Specifically, Model II's AUC statistic indicates the importance of considering culture, the number of sponsors, and the current cumulative years of sponsor-client support when planning future BPC proposals or assessing current BPC operations.

125 T. Camber Warren, "Not by the Sword Alone: Soft Power, Mass Media, and the Production of State Sovereignty," *International Organization* 68, no. 1 (January 2014): 66, doi:10.1017/S0020818313000350.

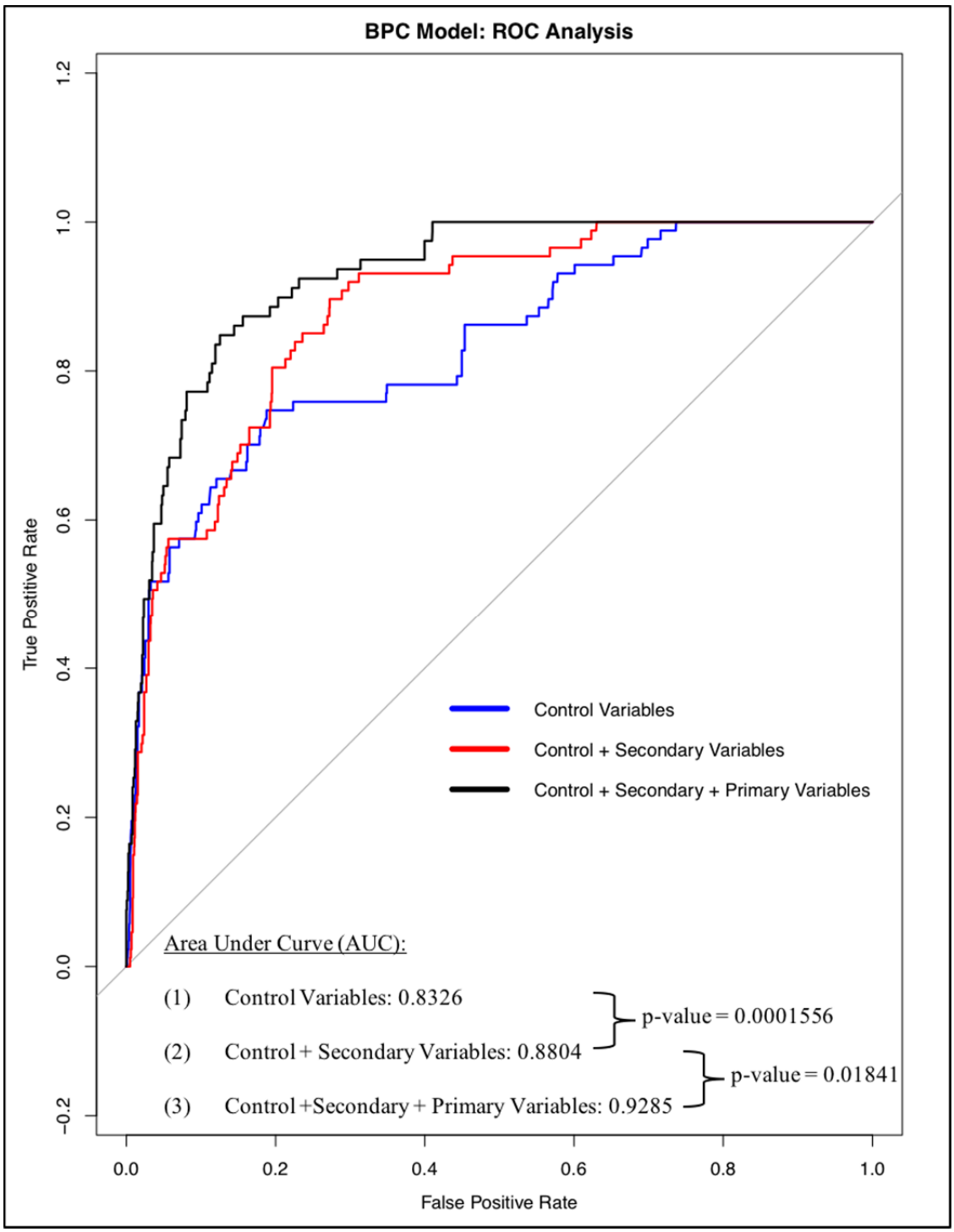

Figure 5. ROC Analysis

F. ALTERNATE EXPLANATIONS

Second, within the framework of traditional regression analysis, there is always a concern that investigators may have selectively "cherry-picked" their model and variables to prove their given hypothesis—a sort of statistical reverse engineering. To check for this possibility, this thesis employs a process known as Bayesian model averaging (BMA). Through BMA, this thesis seeks to ensure that the regression results are not unduly influenced by Model II's design, and that the thesis did not manipulate variables. BMA develops a model for every possible independent variable combination, ranging from two to all sixteen independent variables. Then BMA assesses the value of including or omitting each independent variable in each of the tested models. Following this analysis, BMA indicates the most predictive independent variables and variable combinations.

Ultimately, the use of BMA enables the most honest assessment of results from across the range of plausible models given the inputs presented in the thesis. Specifically, the thesis uses BMA to test all 131,072 variations of the model by including or excluding independent variables. This check is important for both testing the robustness and confirming the real-world applicability of the model. To illustrate this point, a 10 percent sample of the total BMA iterations is depicted in Figure 6.

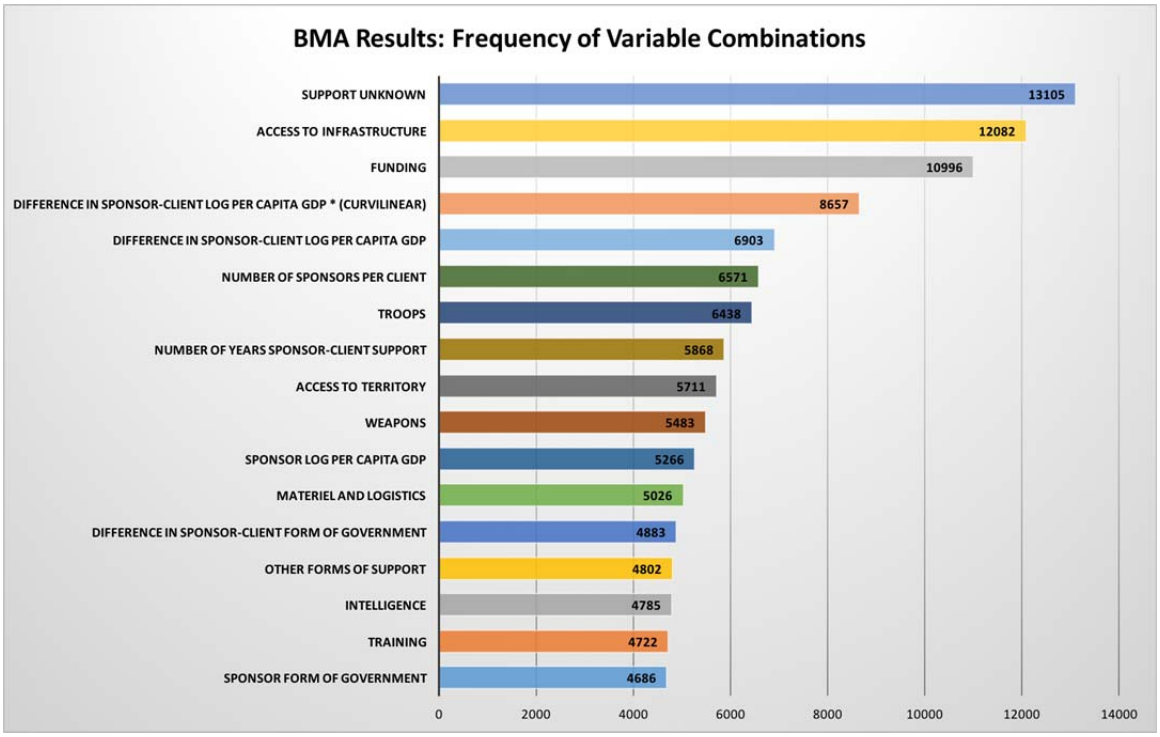

Figure 6. BMA Results: 10 Percent Sample of Total Iterations

As depicted in Figure 6, BMA testing reveals two of the thesis' variables of interest and two of the thesis' support variables to be the most useful in providing accurate results. Specifically, the difference in sponsor-client power distance and individualism, and the number of sponsors have proven to be the most valuable variable of interest for explaining BPC success. Of the support type variables, access to infrastructure and funding have the greatest explanatory power in predicting BPC success.

Furthermore, the BMA analysis demonstrates that two support type variables, access to infrastructure, such as bases, as well as funding, to be more consistently predictive than the primary and secondary variables of interest. The high number of times in which both access to infrastructure (12,082 times) and funding (10,996 times) appear in the BMA analysis statistics is indicative of their importance in Model II, relative to the other independent variables. Specifically, of the 131,072 possible model combinations, ranked by statistical significance, access to infrastructure is included more often than any other independent variable. Access to infrastructure occurs when a sponsor allows a

client "to use some part of their military infrastructure (bases, intelligence gathering stations, etc.) as if it was their own."[126] An example of this was U.S.-Peruvian coordination during the counternarcotics Airbridge Denial Program (1995–2001). As part of this program, U.S. CIA personnel acted as both pilots and sensor operators for a tracker plane. At the same time, a Peruvian official on the plane acted as the link between the tracker plane and Peruvian fighter aircraft. When the Peruvian forces had met the conditions for an interdiction, their fighter aircraft—using the information provided to them by the Peruvian official on the tracker aircraft—engaged the target.[127]

After access to infrastructure, funding is included the most of any other independent variable. Appearing the third most is the difference in power distance and individualism (appearing 8,657 times), and the fourth is the number of sponsors per client (appearing 6,571 times). The most significant implication from this analysis is that, in a time-constrained environment, planners should consider funding, access to the sponsor's infrastructure, the difference in power distance and individualism, and the number of sponsors when planning or assessing BPC efforts. These points will be further discussed in Chapter VI.

G. LIMITATIONS OF THE MODEL

In data analysis involving thousands of observations, researchers must apply limits within the bounds of feasible and necessary assumptions. While Chapter III highlights the assumptions the thesis employs in defining the dependent variable of the model, additional assumptions and limitations of the model require explanation.

First, as Chapter I notes, this thesis focuses on BPC efforts that aim to strengthen a client's military capability, and not BPC efforts that sponsors designed merely to maintain a relationship. As a result, the thesis has defined the dependent variable as whether or not the client achieved military victory in a given conflict. There are, of course, a myriad of outcomes that may be included in a client's failure to achieve military

126 Croicu et al., *UCDP External Support Project–Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset Codebook*, 15.

127 John L. Helgerson, *Procedures Used in Narcotics Airbridge Denial Program in Peru, 1995–2001* (DTIC Document, 2008), 19.

victory, such as a ceasefire, peace agreement, or stalemate. This thesis, however, employs this strict dichotomous outcome to demonstrate clearly what factors most influence outright client military victory.

Second, the time period associated with Model II (1975–2009) is one of its more obvious limitations. The thesis creates a composite dataset that draws primarily from the UCDP External Support Dataset, which itself is limited to this thirty-four-year period. Despite its relatively short duration, this timeframe provides a broad pool of observations that includes Cold War and post-Cold War conflicts, ethnic and religious conflicts, as well as nationalist and ideological struggles. Furthermore, the dataset is geographically dispersed, providing information on conflicts from across the globe.

Despite the breadth and depth of the UCDP External Support Dataset, readily available data has limited the findings of this thesis. Some of the UCDP data contains ambiguity regarding which parties were involved in a given conflict, or how a conflict was resolved. This thesis has culled observations of this type, which lack the preferred clarity, from the composite dataset.

Perhaps the most significant limitation of the dataset is the simplification of support types to either present or absent. This is a limitation because it breaks the sponsor-client relationship into a series of dichotomies, and does not account for differing levels of support. For example, the dataset does not distinguish between the levels of training support provided by Estonia and the United States to Afghanistan during Operation Enduring Freedom. In the dataset, the presence of trainers is what matters, not the number of trainers. This limitation is rooted in the macro-level view of the UCDP datasets. There are simply too many conflict/sponsor-client/year observations to account for gradations in each support variable, in each sponsor-client pairing.

This limitation, however, does not prevent the thesis from drawing valuable insights from the dataset. Specifically, the thesis principally draws findings on the primary and secondary variables of interest, and uses the support type variables as controls. Despite these insights, two important conclusions the thesis cannot draw from the regression are “support unknown” and “other forms of support,” both of which are

statistically significant in Model II, because of lack of clarity in the dataset. Information is limited on these two variables, restricting the findings that they may provide. In the observations where these two support type variables are found to be present, further research is required.

H. CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced the results of the regression conducted on the thesis' composite dataset. The chapter highlighted the results regarding the primary and secondary variables, noting that the difference in culture, the number of sponsors, and the number of years of sponsor-client support each proved to be statistically significant, while the difference in forms of government was not. This chapter also reviewed this thesis' four hypotheses. Results from the analysis found that, generally, the bigger the difference in culture the less likely the sponsor is to achieve success, which partially confirmed hypothesis one. Conversely, the chapter did not confirm hypotheses two or three. It, instead, found that the more sponsors involved in a BPC effort and the longer the BPC effort goes on, the less likely a client is to achieve victory.

After discussing the results and analysis of the regression, Chapter IV provided a brief overview of the two statistical methods the thesis employs to check the accuracy of the Model II, ROC and BMA, to explore alternate explanations for the effects of the inputs, or independent variables, on the model's outcome. Model II, which includes the controls, secondary, and primary variables of interest, provided the most accurate predictive model. BMA analysis confirmed the significance of difference in culture and number of sponsors, but also found access to infrastructure and funding to be important considerations with regard to BPC.

Chapter V will further explore the results and analysis of Model II using a unique case study: the Dhofar Rebellion (1965–1975) in Oman. The chapter will use this case study to highlight the strengths, weaknesses, and major insights Model II provides, while illustrating the value of the model in examining historical, current, and future BPC efforts.

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V. THE DHOFAR REBELLION AND BPC

A. OVERVIEW

On July 23, 1970, the British government sponsored a palace coup d'état in Oman, replacing Sultan Taymur with his son, Sultan Qaboos, who continues to reign over Oman today. Since 1965, the Omani government had nominally, and without much success, been fighting a Marxist insurgency in the remote region of Dhofar. As the long-time western sponsor of the Omani government, the British felt significant Cold War pressure to both defeat the spread of communism on the Arabian Peninsula, and to retain their waning influence in the region. The coup, however, was only the start. What followed was a significant BPC effort that built an army from the ground up in the midst of a major counterinsurgency campaign. Ultimately, the BPC efforts of the British succeeded in a military victory for their client against Marxist inspired, communist backed insurgents. The way in which the British sponsored the Omani government offers useful insights into the conditions that promote BPC success, as do the failed ways in which the Soviet Union and others backed the insurgents.

This chapter provides a qualitative case study of the Dhofar Rebellion (1965–1975) in Oman, with the aim of illustrating the findings on building partner capacity revealed in the primary model of the thesis outlined in Chapter III. Chapter V begins with a brief history of the Dhofar region of Oman, focusing specifically on the years immediately preceding the rebellion, as well as providing a timeline of the Dhofar Rebellion. The chapter then describes the sponsor-client relationships that existed on both sides of the conflict, including cultural considerations, types of support and duration. Building on all of this, this chapter concludes with an analysis of Chapter IV's findings as they pertain to the Dhofar Rebellion.

This chapter illustrates how the British, a major sponsor in the fight against the Dhofar Rebellion, leveraged Omani culture better than their adversaries to gain an advantage over the insurgents driving the conflict. The conflict also illustrates the value of early commitment, and the importance of funding. Notably, there was substantially

less funding provided by the Omani government for the BPC effort in the first half of the conflict (1965–1970) than the second half of the conflict (1970–1975). However, when the British and Sultan Qaboos increased funding against the rebel movement in the second half of the conflict, the BPC efforts began to show significant results. Lastly, and perhaps most uniquely, the conflict illustrates how the British not only allowed their client, the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF), to use British infrastructure, but also created a combined "inter-structure" that allowed the swift development and employment of the SAF to put down the rebellion.

B. DHOFAR: THE RISE OF REBELLION

Oman, a tiny sultanate on the Arabian Peninsula, has had a relationship with Britain dating back to the Anglo-Omani treaty of 1798.[128] The Dhofar region of Oman is located in the most southwestern portion of the country, a region that is isolated from the rest of the Sultanate. It borders Saudi Arabia to the north, the Arabian Sea to the south, and Yemen to the west.[129] Dhofar has three main areas: the fertile plain around the city of Salalah, the range of mountains known simply as the *jebel*,[130] and the flat desert area known as the *Najd*.[131]

Sultan Taymur, who reigned from 1932–1970, chose Salalah, the only major city in Dhofar, as his principal residence over the capital city of Muscat.[132] Despite having the Sultan in residence, Dhofar was not officially part of Oman until 1970; rather, it was the personal property of the Sultan, over which he ruled much like a "feudal lord."[133]

128 Geraint Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counter-Insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965–1975," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32, no. 2 (April 2009): 278, doi:10.1080/01402390902743357.

129 John Townsend, *Oman: The Making of a Modern State* (London: C. Helm, 1977), 96.

130 The term "jebel" is Arabic for "mountain."

131 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 278.

132 Townsend, *Oman*, 55.

133 Walter C. Ladwig, "Supporting Allies in Counterinsurgency: Britain and the Dhofar Rebellion," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 19, no. 1 (March 2008): 66, doi:10.1080/09592310801905793.

From his palace in Salalah, Sultan Taymur largely ran the rest of the country via radio-telephone.[134]

As a ruler, Sultan Taymur was isolated from much of the world and his own population. He maintained diplomatic relations with only three countries: the United Kingdom, the United States, and Pakistan.[135] In the early years of his reign, the Sultan paid off the debts of his predecessors, ultimately failing to spend sufficient funds on infrastructure or other development projects for the country.[136] By 1969, the last full year of Sultan Taymur's rule, Oman looked much as it had when he came to power almost four decades before. Ultimately, the isolation of the Sultan from both his people and the world, combined with the almost complete absence of modern development, made the country ripe for rebellion.[137]

The first sparks of what would eventually become the Dhofar Rebellion date back to the late 1950s.[138] Following a 1958 territorial dispute between Oman and Saudi Arabia over the Buraimi Oasis, the Saudis began sponsoring Sheikh Ghalib bin 'Ali al-Hinai, a regional Imam. The Imam attempted to challenge Omani claims to Buraimi, and even applied to the Arab League to be recognized as an independent entity. The British helped Oman fend off Saudi Arabia diplomatically and backed the Sultan militarily. Eventually, these efforts enabled Oman to expel the Imam, who escaped with his followers to Saudi Arabia. The Sultan's reliance on a foreign military to put down the uprising further undermined his already weak credibility with the Omani population.[139]

During the 1960s, a variety of Omani nationalist groups organized into the Democratic Liberation Front (DLF) and established a training camp in al-Basra, Iraq. J. E. Peterson, a historian and political analyst specializing in the Arabian Peninsula and

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134 Townsend, *Oman*, 62–63.

135 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 66.

136 Townsend, *Oman*, 67–68.

137 Ibid., 97.

138 J. E. Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula: The Rebellion in Dhufar," *World Affairs* 139, no. 4 (1977): 279–80.

139 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 66; Townsend, *Oman*, 61.

Persian Gulf, notes that, "a series of minor raids were carried out against oil company installations in Dhufar [sic] during 1963 and 1964."[140] Middle East expert Fred Halliday describes the DLF's ideology as a "mixture of Dhofari separatism and partial Nasserism."[141] Eventually, however, at the DLF's second congress in 1968, the uprising in Dhofar was coopted by radical Marxists for their own purposes.[142] With this change in ideology and leadership, the group became the People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG).[143]

Sultan Taymur responded to the rise of the PFLOAG with a policy of repression. International relations expert Walter C. Ladwig III describes, "wells were cemented over, homes of suspected insurgents were burned, and civilians from the Jebel were denied access to the markets in the towns on the plain where they traditionally sold their livestock."[144] Rather than suppress the growing movement, the Sultan's policies pushed the population of Dhofar further toward the rebel cause.

Under these conditions, British efforts to build partner capacity under Sultan Taymur stalled. Ladwig observes:

> Following the suppression of the Imam's uprising in 1958, the SAF had been reorganized to conduct internal defense missions in the north of Oman. A force of 2,000 men under arms, the SAF consisted of two infantry battalions and a small gendarmerie that patrolled the border with Abu Dhabi. The SAF was not equipped or prepared to conduct operations in Dhofar across 600 miles of desert, nor was it allowed to: The Sultan [Taymur] had decreed that security in Dhofar would be provided solely by the Dhofar Force, a company-sized private bodyguard led by a Pakistani lieutenant-colonel.[145]

By contrast, Ladwig notes that, by the late 1960s, the PFLOAG "was capable of putting 2000 fighters into the field for offensive operations and had another 3000 militia

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140 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 280.

141 Fred Halliday, *Arabia without Sultans*, 2. ed. (London: Saqi, 2002), 361.

142 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 66.

143 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 281.

144 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 70.

145 Ibid., 67–68.

members," many of whom were typically better armed than the SAF with Kalashnikov rifles, machine guns, mortars, RPG-7s, 122 mm Katyusha rockets, and SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles provided by their communist sponsors.[146] By the spring of 1970, the insurgents had pushed the SAF off the *jebel*, the PFLOAG had severed the only road connecting Dhofar to the rest of Oman, and the insurgents were able to shell the British Royal Air Force (RAF) base in Salalah at will.[147]

The military superiority of the insurgents, combined with Sultan Taymur's reticence to build a force capable of challenging them, required the British to make significant changes to counter the threat posed by the PFLOAG. In a country run by an absolute autocracy, that change could only occur by removing the Sultan himself.

Under the threat of a rising Marxist-inspired insurgency, the British decided to support the Sultan's son, Qaboos bin Said, in a bloodless coup d'état on July 23, 1970.[148] Historian and political scientist Geraint Hughes observes that, after Sultan Qaboos came to power, he immediately recognized the need to reverse his father's repressive policies, while simultaneously building up the SAF.[149] As Ladwig notes, "Before the coup, in 1970, the SAF numbered 3,000 men under arms; less than two years later that number had passed 10,000."[150] This military build-up coincided with an ambitious nation-wide development program.[151] It was also during this time that the Sultan formally annexed the Dhofar region into the Sultanate of Oman.[152]

The counterinsurgency campaign waged by Sultan Qaboos was in line with British COIN doctrine. Specifically, it stressed the psychological component of undermining the insurgent cause as much as the military aspects of the conflict.[153] The

146 Ibid., 67.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid., 71.

149 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 282.

150 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 72.

151 Ibid.

152 Townsend, *Oman*, 96.

153 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 274.

campaign followed a "clear-hold-build" approach, where the SAF and *firqat* tribal units worked together to clear the PFLOAG insurgents from the *jebel*, provide security for the local population, and then begin development projects to undermine the insurgent's appeal to the local population.[154]

The clear-hold-build effort moved from east to west, starting from the interior of Oman and working towards the border with Yemen. The SAF constructed a series of defensive lines, which started along the southern coast and extended into the *jebel*; these defensive lines, illustrated in Figure 7, became known as the Hammer, Hornbeam, Damavand, and Simba lines.[155]

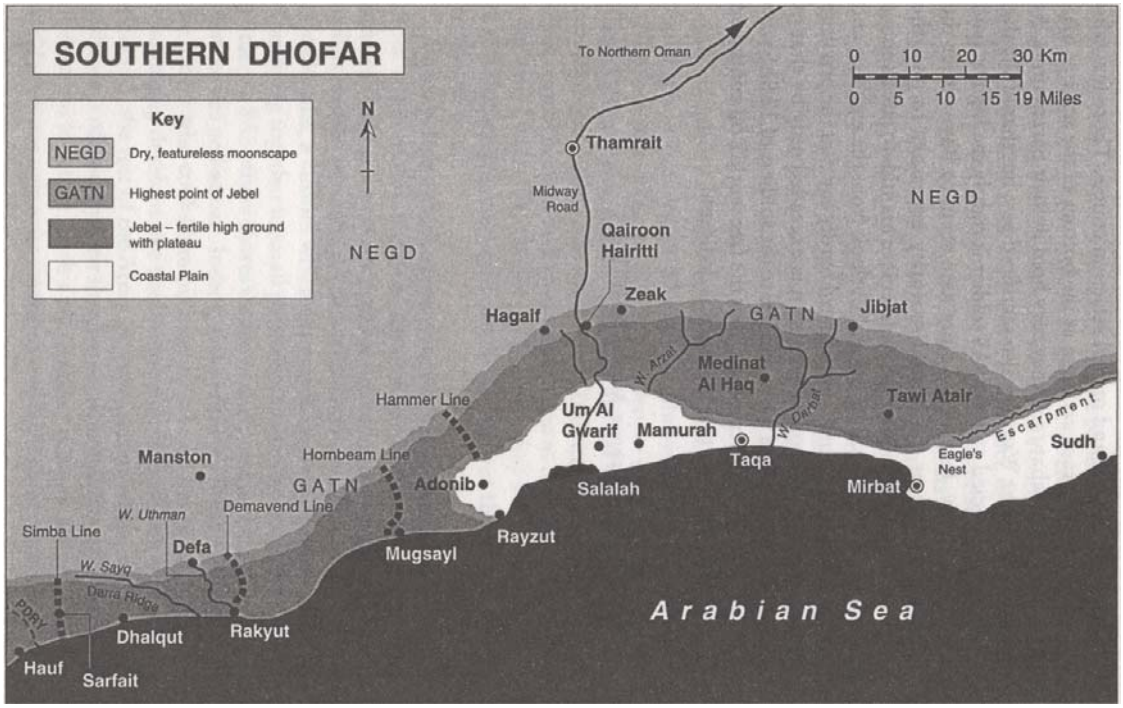

Figure 7. Southern Dhofar Map with Defensive Lines. Source: Jeapes (2005).

154 Ibid., 286.

155 Tony Jeapes, *SAS Secret War: Operation Storm in the Middle East* (London: Greenhill, 2005), 16.

Omani forces designed these defensive lines, which were essentially mine-wire obstacle belts, to restrict the PFLOAG from moving west to east and to provide a secure space for development projects. While the belts did not prevent all PFLOAG infiltration, they were an effective measure overall; by late 1975, the PFLOAG had been pushed back over the border into the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY).[156] The cessation of hostilities was officially declared on December 11, 1975.[157] Halliday claims that, by the early 1980s, the remnants of the PFLOAG had "withered to a small group of Libya-based émigrés."[158] In short, the government of Oman achieved an outright military victory over the PFLOAG.

External sponsors provided support to both the Sultanate of Oman and the PFLOAG throughout the conflict. In order to better understand the Omani government's success in militarily defeating the PFLOAG, the following section explores the types of support sponsors provided the clients on both sides of this conflict.

C. SUPPORT PROVIDED TO THE PFLOAG

The PFLOAG had four major, and two minor, sponsors. The PFLOAG's major sponsors were the PDRY, the People's Republic of China (PRC), the USSR, and Iraq. The minor sponsors, who provided aid sporadically or in small amounts, were Libya and Cuba.

1. Major Supporters: PDRY, PRC, USSR, and Iraq

The PDRY was the most ardent and consistent supporter of the PFLOAG throughout the war. Peterson called the PDRY the most "important factor—outside of the revolutionaries themselves—in the prolongation of the rebellion."[159] The PDRY provided the PFLOAG with a base at al-Hauf, on the PDRY side the border, from which

156 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 284–85.

157 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 285; Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 77.

158 Fred Halliday, "Arabia without Sultans Revisited," *Middle East Report*, no. 204 (July 1997): 28, doi:10.2307/3013140.

159 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 288.

the PFLOAG could launch offensives, and occasionally artillery, into Dhofar proper.[160] The PDRY also supplied the PFLOAG with funding, materiel and logistics, training, troops, and weapons.[161] In addition, British military officer John Akehurst, who served as the commander of the Dhofar Brigade, argues that the PDRY gave the PFLOAG "regular air-time on the PRDY national broadcasting service known as Radio Aden."[162] In a nod to the PDRY's dedication to the PFLOAG, Akehurst, contends, "The only non-guerrillas ever directly contacted on the Oman side of the frontier were PRDY regular troops, but this did not occur until late 1975."[163]

The PDRY maintained the longest support for the PFLOAG. However, by late 1975, the PFLOAG had decisively lost the conflict and, in March 1976, a combination of Saudi Arabian diplomatic intervention and internal PDRY turmoil led to an official cessation of hostilities between the PDRY and Oman.[164]

The most significant non-regional sponsor of the PFLOAG was the PRC, which provided consistent support to the rebels from as early as 1965.[165] Most notably, the PRC provided the rebels with training in guerrilla tactics in both the PDRY and the PRC.[166] The PRC also reportedly supplied the rebels with materiel and logistics, and weapons.[167] Peterson reports that in 1971—the peak year of PRC involvement in the conflict—PRC advisors were on the ground at PFLOAG bases in the PDRY, and potentially in Dhofar

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160 John Akehurst, *We Won a War: The Campaign in Oman 1965–1975* (Salisbury, United Kingdom: M. Russell, 1982), 14.

161 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296; Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 288.

162 Akehurst, *We Won a War*, 29–30.

163 Ibid., 29.

164 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296.

165 James F. Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," *Iranian Studies* 47, no. 3 (February 2014): 455, doi:10.1080/00210862.2014.880631.

166 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289; Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 455; Akehurst, *We Won a War*, 14.

167 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 455; Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289; Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 75.

itself.[168] This peak in PRC support indicated a change in the PRC's overall approach to the Middle East. James Goode, a historian focusing on the Middle East and Iran, notes that the PRC became concerned with blocking Soviet expansion in the region. As Goode states, "At a time when the USSR was seeking to expand its influence in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, Beijing wanted to establish better relations with more moderate regimes, such as Iran, which shared China's concerns about Soviet expansionism."[169]

However, the PRC began distancing itself from the conflict after the 1971 peak of support. Hughes claims that this was the result of a combination of "intensified Sino-Soviet hostilities, the PDRY's alignment with Moscow, China's rapprochement with the West and Iran after 1972, and its abandonment of revolutionary ideology."[170] This shift in PRC policy also coincided with the general timeline of U.S.-PRC rapprochement under President Nixon.[171] To counter Soviet expansionism, Iran and the PRC established diplomatic relations with each other in August of 1971, and completed a full rapprochement by 1973.[172] After Sino-Iranian rapprochement, the PRC sponsorship of the PFLOAG declined significantly, and the Soviets emerged as the major non-regional sponsor for the rebels.[173]

While there was some overlap, generally, as the PRC's support decreased, the USSR's support increased. The USSR provided weapons, trainers, and advisors to the PFLOAG, beginning in the late 1960s.[174] Additionally, Peterson claims that, by 1975, Soviet advisors "were reportedly directing the PDRY artillery barrage of Omani positions

168 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289.

169 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 455.

170 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296.

171 Geoffrey Warner, "Review: Nixon, Kissinger and the Rapprochement with China, 1969–1972," *International Affairs* 83, no. 4 (July 2007): 763–81.

172 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 455; Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289.

173 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289.

174 Ibid.; Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 75.

in Dhufar, [sic]"[175] essentially making the Soviet advisors active participants in the conflict, and elevated their participation to "troop support." While the PRC provided more support over the entirety of the conflict than the USSR, the USSR showed a willingness to increase its support when PRC support began to decline in the early 1970s. Peterson describes this dynamic by characterizing the PRC's support as passive after Sino-Iranian rapprochement. Conversely, the USSR's support steadily increased from 1973 to 1975.[176]

While the USSR initially tried to step up its support as the PRC pulled away, it too eventually began to reduce its support of national liberation movements in the Persian Gulf region.[177] Galia Golan, a political scientist who has been widely published on Soviet policy in the Middle East, attributes this reduction in interest to a general realignment of Soviet priorities in the Middle East following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Specifically, Golan argues that the Soviets shifted their focus from national liberation movements to maintenance of the world socialist system.[178] In addition, the Soviets classified the Dhofar Rebellion as a separatist movement, rather than an anti-colonialist movement—making it a lower priority for Soviet intervention.[179] Ultimately, the USSR's support for the PFLOAG dwindled alongside Soviet regional aspirations.[180]

The Iraqi contribution was smaller than that of the PDRY, the PRC, or the USSR. However, as a regional sponsor, Iraq was still a significant part of the conflict. Goode highlights that Iraq provided a monthly stipend to the PFLOAG.[181] Goode further

175 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 289.

176 Ibid.

177 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296.

178 Galia Golan, "Moscow and Third World National Liberation Movements: The Soviet Role," *Journal of International Affairs* 40, no. 2 (Winter 1987): 303–4.

179 Ibid., 307.

180 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296.

181 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 450.

reports that Iraq provided the rebels with access to territory, materiel and logistics, training, and even provided "treatment for wounded fighters in its hospitals."[182]

Iraq continued its support of the PFLOAG through the early 1970s, but eventually ceased support after signing the Algiers Agreement with Iran in 1975. Not long after, in January 1976, Iraq and Oman formally established diplomatic relations, signaling an end for Iraq's support to insurgent movements in the country.[183]

2. Minor Sponsors: Libya and Cuba

Libya, under Muammar Gadhafi, played a minor role late in the conflict. In 1975, Libya reportedly passed Russian made SAM-7 missiles to the PFLOAG. At one point, Ghaddafi also threatened to invade Oman if all of the British and Iranian troops supporting the Sultanate of Oman were not immediately withdrawn.[184] Nothing significant, however, ever came of this threat.

Cuba also played a minor role in the conflict, providing trainers for both the PDRY and the Dhofari rebels.[185] Peterson claims that Cuban pilots even flew the PDRY's MiG-21s.[186] While Cuba had a close relationship with the PDRY, which likely encouraged the PDRY's efforts to assist the PFLOAG, there is no evidence in the reviewed literature of a large-scale Cuban-PFLOAG relationship.

D. SUPPORT PROVIDED TO THE SULTANATE OF OMAN

Oman had two major sponsors, the United Kingdom and Iran, and three minor sponsors: Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Realistically, however, the United Kingdom was the most invested sponsor in building partner capacity in Oman, and the majority of the support provided to Oman occurred after the 1970 coup d'état.

182 Ibid., 460.

183 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 297.

184 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 290.

185 Ibid., 289.

186 Ibid.

1. Major Supporters: UK and Iran

As previously described, the United Kingdom had a longstanding relationship with Oman's ruling class that preceded the Dhofar Rebellion by centuries. The official military relationship, however, began with a treaty signed in 1958, in which the United Kingdom agreed to second their own officers to serve directly with the SAF.[187] Ultimately, active duty British officers commanded most of the Sultan's Armed Forces, including British officers commanding SAF companies and battalions, a British officer serving as the Commander of the Sultan's Armed Forces, and a retired British general officer serving as the Sultan's Military Secretary.[188] In addition, the RAF provided ten officers to help administer the small Sultan of Oman's Air Force. The seconded RAF officers, however, received no language training and, unless a British Army officer was present with an Omani ground unit, close air support was not possible.[189]

The United Kingdom also provided training for the SAF Training Regiment, including establishing courses that would allow Omani officers to advance past the rank of lieutenant, which had not been permitted under Sultan Taymur.[190] Moreover, the Sultan sent newly commissioned Omani officers to military academies in Britain, just as Sultan Qaboos had been during his formative years.[191]

For command and control of the counterinsurgency effort, the British gave the SAF access to its military infrastructure, and built a permanent headquarters on the British air base at RAF Salalah.[192] The British also upgraded the SAF's weapons, and provided materiel and logistics support.[193] For intelligence support, the British provided

187 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 68; Clive Jones, "Military Intelligence and the War in Dhofar: An Appraisal," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 25, no. 3 (May 4, 2014): 630, doi:10.1080/09592318.2014.913743.

188 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 68.

189 Ibid., 69.

190 Ibid., 72–73.

191 Ibid., 73.

192 Ibid., 74.

193 Ibid., 75.

an intelligence detachment with the Special Air Service (SAS) contingent sent to Oman in 1970.[194] After 1973, the British also began providing funding assistance to Oman in the form of subsidies for the costs of the seconded British officers, who were initially being paid by the Omani government.[195]

In addition to their efforts with the SAF, the British also raised a number of "irregular militia" units out of the indigenous tribes of Dhofar; these units became known as the *firqat*.[196] Ladwig describes that the *firqat* units served two primary purposes: as scouts for the regular SAF, and as "home guards" for areas already cleared by the SAF.[197] He further describes that the *firqat* units operated as platoons and companies "built around a core of six to ten SAS personnel."[198] Eventually, there were approximately 2,000 *firqat* personnel.[199]

At its height, British personnel support to Oman consisted of 150 seconded active duty officers, 300 contracted officers, and two squadrons of the British SAS.[200] Perhaps most unique to conflicts of this era was the degree to which these British personnel were integrated into the SAF and *firqat* units with which they served. This unique organizational design created an "inter-structure," in which the roles of the sponsor and client personnel became intertwined at the tactical level, an arrangement that in many ways surpassed typical client access to sponsor infrastructure. The relations between the United Kingdom and Oman continued in force after the conclusion of the war. While the Sultan "Arabized" the SAF following the rebellion, filling its ranks with Omani citizens, the Omani military still relied on British advisors as late as 2009.[201]

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194 Jones, "Military Intelligence and the War in Dhofar," 633; Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 74.

195 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 76.

196 Ibid., 73.

197 Ibid.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid., 71.

201 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 298.

In addition to Britain's extensive involvement in building partnership capacity, Iran also provided major support to the government of Oman. Iran's first shipment of military supplies arrived in August 1972.[202] The British initially turned the shipment away due to concerns over the regional perceptions of Oman accepting Iranian assistance. Eventually, however, the British chose not to interfere with Iranian aid or the development of the relationship between the two countries.[203]

At the height of Iranian involvement, approximately 4,000 Iranian solders were serving in Dhofar. They operated under their own Iranian chain of command in contrast to the British-run SAF forces.[204] In addition to troops, Iran sent weapons, including fighter aircraft and artillery, and significant materiel and logistics support, including helicopter troop carriers.[205] The Imperial Iranian Navy also provided the Sultan of Oman's Navy assistance in its insurgent interdiction mission.[206] While the Iranians did less to build Oman's capacity, and provided more troops to serve as independent combat units, the Iranian efforts were still critical for providing the necessary breathing room for the rapidly expanding SAF to grow.

Iran kept forces in Oman after the war at the request of the Sultan, allowing Iran to capitalize on its growth in regional influence from the conflict.[207] Iran gradually withdrew its forces over the course of several years. The last Iranian troops left in late 1978, just in time for the Iranian Islamic Revolution.[208]

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202 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 447.

203 Ibid.

204 Ibid., 451.

205 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 76.

206 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 282.

207 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 461.

208 Ibid.

2. Minor Sponsors: Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan

In addition to the major support provided by the United Kingdom and Iran, several other countries provided minimal support to the Omani government. Jordan provided intelligence personnel, an infantry battalion, and a combat engineer company to Oman.[209] Jordan also provided training for some Omani personnel in Jordan, including newly commissioned officers and pilots.[210] Goode notes that, additionally, Jordan provided weapons in the form of "thirty-one Hunter-Hawker subsonic aircraft."[211] Ultimately, Jordanian support was relatively late and short-lived. King Hussein withdrew the Jordanian troops after just six months, citing suspicions about Britain's intent in the war.[212]

Saudi Arabia was perhaps Oman's most fickle supporter. As a result of its former support to groups in opposition to the Sultan, relations between Saudi Arabia and Oman were not good. As the DLF morphed into the PFLOAG, however, its goals turned from Omani nationalism to the spread of a Marxist socialist ideology across the entirety of the Arabian Peninsula. This ideological movement potentially posed as much a threat to the Saudi monarchy as it did to the Sultan of Oman, so Saudi Arabia retracted its support from the PFLOAG and reengaged the Sultan.[213]

Over time, and encouraged by the United Stated under the auspices of the "twin pillars" policy, which aimed to empower both Saudi Arabia and Iran, Saudi Arabia reluctantly acquiesced to offering minor levels of support to Sultan Qaboos and the

209 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 286; Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 76; Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 454.

210 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 73; Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 454.

211 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 454.

212 Ibid.

213 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 67.

Omani government. Saudi support to Oman included some very basic materiel support, and allowing some Omani soldiers access to Saudi Arabian military bases to conduct training,[214] although there was no evidence in the reviewed literature that Saudi Arabia actually trained any Omani forces during the war. Ultimately, the Nixon administration expected Iran and Saudi Arabia to address regional issues themselves without direct involvement of the United States; Oman was one such example.[215]

Pakistan also played a minor supporting role to the Omani government. Ladwig notes that the Pakistani military provided materiel and logistics support in the form of "supply, transport, and clerical duties."[216] Ladwig further claims that Pakistan also used non-commissioned officers to provide technical support for "intelligence, signals and mechanical functions."[217] However, this level of support was significantly less substantial than any of Oman's other partners. The sponsor-client relationships for both sides of the conflict are summarized in Table 5.

214 Peterson, "Guerrilla Warfare and Ideological Confrontation in the Arabian Peninsula," 288; Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 457.

215 Gary Sick, "The United States in the Persian Gulf: From Twin Pillars to Dual Containment," in *The Middle East and the United States: History, Politics, and Ideologies*, eds. David W. Lesch and Mark L. Hass, Fifth edition, Updated 2013 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2014), 309–25.

216 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 68.

217 Ibid.

Table 5. The Dhofar Rebellion Sponsor-Client Relationships

Clients	Sponsors	Types of Support Provided
People's Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG)	Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY)	Access to Territory, Funding, Materiel & Logistics, Training, Troops, Weapons
	People's Republic of China (PRC)	Materiel & Logistics, Training, Weapons
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)	Training, Troops, Weapons
	Iraq	Access to Territory, Funding, Materiel & Logistics, Training
	Libya	Weapons
	Cuba	Training
Sultanate of Oman	United Kingdom	Access to Infrastructure, Funding, Intelligence, Materiel & Logistics, Training, Troops, Weapons
	Iran	Materiel & Logistics, Troops, Weapons
	Jordan	Intelligence, Training, Troops, Weapons
	Saudi Arabia	Access to Infrastructure, Funding
	Pakistan	Intelligence, Materiel & Logistics

E. APPLICATION OF THE FINDINGS OF MODEL II TO BPC IN THE DHOFAR REBELLION

The findings of this thesis' primary model (Model II), as noted in Chapter IV, are applicable to what BPC sponsors and clients experienced on both sides of the Dhofar Rebellion, specifically the effects of sponsor-client cultural differences, the length of the sponsorships, the number of major sponsors for each side, access to infrastructure, and the importance of funding support. Each of these points is elaborated on below.

1. The Difference in Culture

The Dhofar Rebellion provides a unique illustration of Model II's results with regard to the findings of hypothesis one, which is the greater the difference of culture between the sponsor and client, the lower the probability of BPC success. Ultimately, this case study does not confirm this hypothesis. However, this finding yields some important insights into how sponsors and clients with significant power distance and individualism differences can overcome this cultural obstacle and, conversely, how sponsors and clients with similar power distance and individualism scores can squander this advantage.

At the outset of the conflict, the PFLOAG's sponsors appeared to have had a significant advantage with regard to the cultural dynamics of power distance and individualism. As is indicated in Tables 6 and 7, the difference in power distance and individualism between the PFLOAG and their main sponsors (the PRC and the USSR) was very low.[218] This dynamic should, in theory, have made the PRC and the USSR more likely to achieve success as BPC sponsors.

Table 6. China-PFLOAG Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
China (Sponsor)	80	20
PFLOAG (Client)	80	38
Difference	0	18

Table 7. USSR-PFLOAG Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
USSR (Sponsor)	90	39
PFLOAG (Client)	80	38
Difference	10	1

218 Hofstede, et al., *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*, 57–59, 95–97.

The other two major sponsors of the PFLOAG—the PDRY and Iraq—actually have the same power distance and individualism scores as the PFLOAG, producing a difference of zero.[219] The PDRY and Iraq, however, fell within the category of cultural and economic peers to the PFLOAG. Their failure in the conflict is a good example of the "near-peer effect" from Chapter IV where actors with similar log per capita GDPs (which was used as a proxy for power distance and individualism in constructing Model II) may find it difficult to provide meaningful support, regardless of the cultural similarities.

As compared to the PFLOAG, Oman's sponsors appear to have had a significant structural disadvantage with regard to power distance and individualism. As is highlighted in Table 8, the difference in cultural dynamics between the Omanis and their main sponsor, the United Kingdom, is much higher.[220] The difference in power distance and individualism between Oman and Iran is lower but, as noted previously, Iran primarily participated in the conflict as a combatant, not as partners building capacity.[221] Despite the cultural disadvantage, the United Kingdom was ultimately successful in their BPC relationship with Oman and helped the government achieve decisive military victory.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid.

221 Ibid.

Table 8. United Kingdom-Oman Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
United Kingdom (Sponsor)	35	89
Oman (Client)	80	38
Difference	45	51

Table 9. Iran-Oman Culture Difference Chart

Actor	Power Distance Score	Individualism Score
Iran (Sponsor)	58	41
Oman (Client)	80	38
Difference	22	3

These findings beg the question, where did the PFLOAG's sponsors go wrong? While all of this seems counterintuitive to the Chapter IV findings on hypothesis one, a closer look at the literature on the conflict reveals a reverse in cultural alignments at the tactical level.

The Dhofar Rebellion was, at its core, an insurgency, and an insurgency needs the support of the population to succeed. Understanding this, the British undertook two major initiatives aimed at appealing to the cultural norms of the target population: a psychological warfare campaign, and the training of *firqat* units.[222] International relations scholar Clive Jones describes that the psychological operations campaign "extolled the piety and power of an Islamic order synonymous with the Al Bu Said [the Sultan of Oman] dynasty, while raging against the apostates [the PFLOAG, Marxist guerrillas] whose belief in historical determinism ran counter to the very fabric of tribal society."[223] Simultaneously, Jones notes that the British sought to harness the power of the tribes with

222 Jones, "Military Intelligence and the War in Dhofar," 634, 638.

223 Ibid., 634.

the *firqat* units, who had "intimate knowledge of the physical topography as well as the eddies of tribal life on the Jebel."[224]

The British further bolstered the capability of the SAF units through the employment of a unique "inter-structure" program, which involved seconding British officers into the SAF, enabling the seamless integration of British and Omani forces. This approach aided the British in managing the cultural disparity within the BPC effort, and allowed for the full employment of allocated British resources in developing the SAF's capability. As a result, it appears that the United Kingdom and Oman were able to overcome the cultural disadvantage inherent in their disparate power distance and individualism scores, and these efforts succeeded in gaining the population's support in countering the rebellion. This finding suggests that, while culture should be taken into account, it is by no means an insurmountable obstacle. The British had a deep familiarity with Omani culture, based on generations of British-Omani relations, and they used this knowledge to their advantage.[225]

By contrast, the PRC sponsored PFLOAG attempted—quite unsuccessfully—to superimpose their own version of collectivism onto the Dhofari people. Jones argues: "PFLOAG ignored the classic Maoist dictum of working with and among the people, rather than imposing a new, stridently secular order from the outset that denied agency to an indigenous sense of tribe or indeed religious belief."[226] Halliday notes that the PFLOAG agenda was classic Marxist rhetoric: "There had to be industrialization, agrarian reform, encouragement of local trade and the building of economic infrastructure. The revolution must free slaves, end the oppression of women, develop health and education and encourage trades union activity."[227] Much of this agenda would have hardly been recognizable to the rural, largely uneducated, and traditionally tribal population of Dhofar. Rather than harnessing and leveraging their client's natural tribal

224 Ibid., 638.

225 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 299.

226 Jones, "Military Intelligence and the War in Dhofar," 637.

227 Halliday, *Arabia without Sultans*, 368.

collectivism, the PFLOAG's sponsors squandered their structural cultural advantage by letting their own Marxist rhetoric get in the way.

2. The Length of Sponsorship

As noted previously, the United Kingdom's sponsor-client relationship with Oman dates back to 1958.[228] By the time the Dhofar Rebellion had ended in 1975, the British had a 17-year sponsor-client relationship with Oman. The length of this relationship may have contributed to the depth of British cultural understanding about Oman, which aided their ability to counter their enemy's structural cultural advantage. This observation seems to run counter to Chapter IV's findings on hypothesis two; specifically, that the longer a sponsor-client relationship continues in a given conflict, the less probable the sponsor is to achieve its desired end state—a military victory.

Several details help explain this contradiction between Chapter IV's findings and British success with helping their partner nation to end the Dhofar Rebellion after 17 years. First, while the dates of the Dhofar Rebellion are typically listed as 1965–1975, the bulk of the sponsorship efforts from the United Kingdom and Iran occurred between 1970 and 1975. If the surge of support, starting in 1970, is seen as the turning point in the BPC effort in Oman, then Chapter IV's findings are upheld. The best practice is for a sponsor to front-load their support as much as possible in order to ensure decisive military victory for the client. Building on this point, it is reasonable to assume that, had Sultan Taymur permitted the British to mass their support in the 1960s, the conflict would have ended sooner. By contrast, the PFLOAG's support ebbed and flowed throughout the conflict, which likely contributed to its loss.

3. The Number of Sponsors

The Dhofar Rebellion also confirms the findings of hypothesis three in Chapter IV, which is the greater the number of sponsors per client, the less likely the probability of BPC success. Oman had two major sponsors: the United Kingdom and Iran. Of these

228 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 68; Jones, "Military Intelligence and the War in Dhofar," 630.

two, the United Kingdom engaged in a much larger share of the actual BPC mission. Iran, for the most part, deployed troops, which operated as combatants under their own chain of command. According to British accounts, the Iranians' lack of understanding of counterinsurgency tactics rendered them only effective when used to secure terrain already cleared by the SAF.[229] The use of Iranian forces to secure cleared territory allowed the available SAF elements, with their British officers, to fight the PFLOAG almost entirely under the influence of a single sponsor.

The PFLOAG, on the other hand, had four major sponsors: the PRC, the USSR, the PDRY, and Iraq. While records are scant, it appears that this large number of sponsors presented several challenges to BPC efforts, including dissimilar goals among sponsors, competition for regional influence, and prioritizing Marxism over other ideologies. These differing goals most likely hindered unity of effort, and interfered with the potential for the PFLOAG to achieve success, which was outright military victory.

4. The Importance of Funding

The example of the Dhofar Rebellion also corroborates Chapter IV's finding that funding is a critical support variable. Once Sultan Qaboos ascended to lead Oman, he dedicated approximately fifty percent of Oman's GDP to combatting the rebellion.[230] He increased the size of the SAF, and began development projects throughout Oman to address some of the population's grievances. In 1971 alone, spending towards the conflict was approximately $478 million a year in 2016 USD terms.[231] By 1973, the British began to subsidize some of these costs, further increasing the funding of the BPC effort.[232]

By comparison, the PDRY was giving the PFLOAG an estimated $454,000 a year in 2016 USD terms.[233] The Iraqi government was reported to have given the PFLOAG

229 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 287–88.

230 Ladwig, "Support Allies in Counterinsurgency," 72.

231 Ibid., 76.

232 Ibid.

233 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 296.

the 2016 equivalent of an estimated $2.8 million a year in 2016 USD terms.[234] The amount of aid from the PFLOAG's other sponsors is not known, but it is reasonable to assume that there was a huge disparity between the financial support for the opposing sides in the conflict.

Admittedly, because the Sultan was for the most part funding his own campaign, this example is not a clean comparison. However, regardless of where the funding came from, it is obvious that it made a difference in Oman's ability to build a competent force, improve credibility with the local population, and achieve a military victory over the PFLOAG in the Dhofar region.

F. CONCLUSION

While the Dhofar Rebellion case study did not confirm each of the findings introduced in Chapter IV, it did illustrate that a sponsor can manage key variables from the thesis' major findings to achieve success even in disadvantageous sponsor-client circumstances. With regard to the results of hypothesis one, an increase in the sponsor-client cultural differences will reduce the likelihood of BPC success, the Dhofar Rebellion demonstrated that the development of a British-Omani (sponsor-client) "inter-structure" allowed the British to overcome a structural cultural disadvantage. This "inter-structure" was an organizational design that went beyond the typical client access to sponsor military infrastructure, and included the assignment of British officers into the SAF. Conversely, sponsors of the PFLOAG pushed a Marxist agenda and goals on the rebel group, squandering cultural similarities between the sponsor and client.

In reference to the results of hypothesis two—the longer a conflict goes on the lower the likelihood of BPC success—this case study displayed an example of partial corroboration. While the conflict itself was longer than the average conflict in the combined dataset, the surge in British and Iranian support to Oman in the last five years of the conflict proved to be decisive. This same surge demonstrated the findings of this

234 Goode, "Assisting Our Brother, Defending Ourselves: The Iranian Intervention in Oman, 1972–75," 450.

thesis' Bayesian model averaging, that funding is essential to a BPC effort. Once the British and the Sultan begin to provide the necessary funding to the SAF, the SAF were able defeat the PFLOAG in five years.

The complication of a higher number of sponsors may be the most notable link between this thesis' findings and the case study. The larger number of major sponsors for the PFLOAG, and the accompanying variety in agendas, played a role in the failure of that BPC effort by overcomplicating it. Conversely, Oman had only two major sponsors, one of which was the primary BPC sponsor. The other, Iran, was primarily a military ally, providing troop support, but little else.

This chapter used the Dhofar Rebellion in Oman as an example of a complex BPC operation. The chapter first discussed the relevant history of the region, and the timeline of the Dhofar Rebellion itself. Next, this chapter introduced the BPC sponsor-client relationships on both sides of the conflict, and discussed the outcome of these relationships. Finally, this chapter analyzed the Dhofar Rebellion in the context of Chapter IV's findings.

Chapter VI will provide a brief overview of this thesis, as well as the thesis' key findings. The chapter will also discuss the implications of this research for the broader BPC enterprise. The chapter will end with recommendations for future research.

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VI. CONCLUSION: CULTURE MATTERS, NOW WHAT?

A. INTRODUCTION

Following the September 11 attacks and the rise of irregular threats since these attacks, the U.S. government has increasingly deployed special operations forces (SOF) across the globe, placing them in 70 to 135 countries.[235] Building partnership capacity has been one of the key missions that SOF units have performed in these various deployments. As SOF expert Linda Robinson attests and others note, SOF's role in BPC will continue to be a critical mission, requiring special operations practitioners, planners, and commanders to better plan for and execute these efforts around the globe.[236]

This thesis aimed to answer the following research question: "What variables indicate an increased chance of success or failure of a building partner capacity program?" To investigate this question, the thesis proposed a quantitative model designed to examine further the effects of key variables commonly involved in building partner capacity. Drawing from a number of datasets, historical and contemporary examples, and the authors' own operational experiences, this thesis explored the role of culture and other critical variables that may impact a successful BPC outcome, which is defined as the client achieving military victory.

This chapter begins with a summary of the thesis and provides an overview of the key findings. It then discusses the implications of the research and its findings for the broader BPC enterprise. Finally, Chapter VI closes with recommendations for future research.

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235 See: Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "Obama's 'Boots on the Ground': U.S. Special Forces Are Sent to Tackle Global Threats," *The New York Times*, December 27, 2015, http://nyti.ms/1Ou12Ad. See also: Doug Bolton, "American Special Operations Forces Have Been Deployed to 135 Countries This Year Alone," *The Independent*, September 24, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/american-special-operations-forces-have-been-deployed-to-135-countries-this-year-alone-10516157.html.

236 Linda Robinson, *The Future of U.S. Special Operations Forces*, Council Special Report (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, April 2013).

B. OVERVIEW OF THESIS

The thesis began by providing a comprehensive review of the literature on BPC. From this investigation, it highlighted a definition of BPC provided by Heisler: "a whole-of-government approach that refers to any activity to enhance a partner's ability to provide security within or outside of their borders."[237] It then analyzed the existing body of research on BPC, which it divided into three categories: qualitative, quantitative, and organizational design modeling. Finally, the thesis established a gap in the existing body of research, specifically a way to quantitatively analyze how culture may affect BPC missions. The thesis employed two cultural dimensions of organizational anthropologist Geert Hofstede as an analytical tool: power distance, which is "the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally"; and individualism, which is "a preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families."[238]

From this investigation of the literature, the thesis then provided an overview of the model this thesis used to analyze BPC relationships and programs. This discussion began with introduction of the primary and secondary variables of interest associated with this research effort: difference in sponsor and client culture, difference in sponsor and client forms of government, number of sponsors per client, and the length of the sponsor-client relationship. The thesis also underscored control variables used to account for socio-economic conditions specific to the sponsor, as well as the variables employed to account for various forms of sponsor support.

The thesis used five datasets to statistically examine critical variables: the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) External Support Dataset,[239] the UCDP Conflict

237 Heisler, "By, With, and Through," 50.

238 "Dimensions - Geert Hofstede," accessed June 2, 2016, https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html.

239 Croicu et al., "The UCDP External Support- Disaggregated/Supporter Dataset v. 1.0-2011."

Termination Dataset,[240] the UCDP Actor Dataset,[241] the Center for Systemic Peace Polity IV Project Dataset,[242] and the World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset.[243] From this investigation, it found that, the bigger the difference in culture the less likely the BPC effort will achieve success. The investigation also found that the more sponsors involved in a BPC program and the longer the BPC relationship persists, the less likely a client will achieve a military victory. This thesis, however, was not, able to determine quantitatively the effects of the difference in sponsor and client government types on BPC success or failure.

The thesis then used a qualitative case study, the Dhofar Rebellion in Oman of 1965 to 1975, to investigate further the critical variables discovered from the quantitative analysis. This case study demonstrated that, even where cultural similarities can be a structural advantage, they do not preordain success. Similarly, a structural cultural disadvantage can, with significant effort, be overcome. Furthermore, despite the length of a conflict, a surge in support by a sponsor at the right time can result in a notable shift in momentum. Finally, the case study underscored that, while the building of a coalition seems ideal, even like-minded allies can find difficulties in managing a single client.

C. KEY FINDINGS

This investigation revealed several important findings for success in building partnership capacity.

First, the thesis found that, using power-distance and individualism as proxies, cultural similarities and familiarities are an asset and will increase the chance of client military victory. The Dhofar Rebellion case study highlighted, however, that cultural similarities do not guarantee client victory. In fact, a lack of similarities may be overcome with familiarity. In the Dhofar Rebellion, the British advisors did this by seconding

240 Kreutz, "The UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset v. 2–2015."

241 "The UCDP Actor Dataset v. 2.2-2015."

242 "Polity IV Project, Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2015 Dataset."

243 "The World Bank GDP Per Capita Dataset (Current US$)."

officers into Oman's military, and by leveraging the cultural dynamic of tribal collectivism inherent to the indigenous Dhofari people. Conversely, the major external supporters of the opposition failed to harness cultural similarities, and instead sought to transform the tribal collectivism of the region into a Marxist ideological revolution—a shift that ultimately created cultural disharmony and backfired.

Second, the more sponsors involved in BPC efforts with a single client, the less likely the client will achieve success. This is likely because the more sponsors that are involved in a conflict, the more complicated the management of each sponsor-client relationship to the BPC effort. While the presence of multiple sponsors often lends strategic legitimacy to an operation, it appears it may complicate tactical operations, and ultimately have a detrimental effect on the overall success of the BPC sponsor-client relationship. The thesis' case study clearly illustrated this finding. The Omani military, the Sultan's Armed Forces (SAF), received the majority of its training, advisement, and assistance from the British military. This singular origin of BPC support allowed for not just political objectives to be unified, but also equipment, tactics, techniques, and procedures to be uniform. Conversely, Oman's opposition in the conflict, the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG), had four major BPC sponsors: the PRC, the USSR, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), and Iraq. Each of these major sponsors had their own take on objectives in the conflict—making both support and training inconsistent for the PFLOAG.

Third, the longer a sponsor supports a client the less likely the client will achieve success. This finding is counterintuitive to the qualitative literature on BPC, which tends to argue that the longer the relationship, the greater the chance of success in BPC. This finding, however, may be the result of an overall lack of success in prolonged conflicts and not just of the BPC effort. The mean length of conflict for the dataset used in this thesis was 4.48 years. Therefore, the reduction in probability of BPC success may be explained by the effects of protracted conflicts on clients in general. In other words, the longer the conflict goes on, the more likely it is to end in a peace agreement or stalemate, and the less likely it will end in client military victory, which is the definition of BPC success used in this thesis.

Fourth, the thesis found that, of the support types investigated, access to infrastructure and funding are the most important considerations with regard to BPC. Access to infrastructure included whether or not the sponsor allowed the client to use its military and intelligence infrastructure, and funding was limited specifically to monetary support. Access to infrastructure can be a difficult form of support for a sponsor to provide because it may mean sharing not only classified information, but also allowing the client to use the sponsor's classified systems. To overcome this issue in the Dhofar Rebellion, the British created an "inter-structure" by seconding officers in the Omani military. This system allowed the SAF to capitalize on British technology and capabilities, without releasing sensitive British equipment or systems to the Omanis.

The case study also demonstrated the significance of funding to a BPC effort. Until 1970 the British, and the Sultan of Oman, allocated limited funding to the conflict. However, after a British supported coup d'état in 1970, the new Sultan, along with the British, increased funding to the overall conflict and the BPC effort. This increase in funding bolstered the Omani's military capability and contributed to its victory over the PFLOAG in 1975. The Omani government also invested considerable funds into development projects aimed at building a better relationship between the government and the population, and undermining the Marxists' efforts to draw the population to their side.

D. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BPC OPERATIONS

From these findings, this thesis concludes with five recommendations for future BPC operations planning and execution:

1. Sponsors should deliberately manage personal relationships to overcome cultural and national wealth disparities.

As this thesis highlighted, too great a distance in culture between the sponsor and client can impede BPC success. Conversely a level of national wealth and culture that is too similar between the sponsor and client—the "near-peer" effect—can also reduce the likelihood of success in the BPC relationship.[244] If a sponsor finds itself outside of this

244 See Chapter IV, "The Effects of Culture, Commitment, and Consensus on BPC," (p. 51)

ideal difference with its client, then it should take steps to manage the difference. The British did just this in Oman during the Dhofar Rebellion by developing an intimate "inter-structure" that superseded their cultural disadvantages. The British achieved this by seconding officers to serve in the Sultan's Armed Forces, and partnering British SAS forces with tribal *firqat* units.[245] The human cost of a sponsor's military involvement is an important part of any BPC planner's calculations; however, it is worth noting that establishing this type of inter-structure appears to aid BPC efforts where the sponsor is working at a cultural disadvantage.

2. Sponsors should front-load support for their clients.

The research shows that the longer a conflict persists, the less likely a sponsor-client relationship will result in a military victory for the client. Given this finding, sponsors should strive to provide assistance to their clients as early as possible to maximize the potential for success. Although easy to recommend, this is in fact a difficult course of action to implement and requires assessing potential state and non-state clients early in a conflict for their needs and alignment with U.S. interests. Often times, potential clients are poorly organized, equipped, or trained, making an accurate assessment of their potential difficult. Once, however, a partner is selected, every effort should be made to provide meaningful support. Providing decisive support early may be the difference between a protracted conflict that ends in a precarious ceasefire agreement, or a client's military victory, that enables the demobilization and disarmament of opposing forces.

3. Sponsors should consider allowing clients the use of the sponsor's military and intelligence infrastructure.

Oftentimes in BPC relationships, the sponsor's military, intelligence, and logistics infrastructure far exceed that of the client's. Historically, there have been several approaches to overcoming this discrepancy. In Peru, the CIA allowed a Peruvian official to ride on sensor aircraft during counternarcotic operations to provide the Peruvians with intelligence.[246] In the Dhofar Rebellion, the British seconded officers to the Omani

245 Hughes, "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised," 299–300.

246 Helgerson, *Procedures Used in Narcotics Airbridge Denial Program in Peru, 1995–2001*, 19.

military, providing the SAF access to British military capabilities. In the Dhofar Rebellion, providing access to the sponsor's infrastructure enabled Oman to achieve relative superiority and military victory. Therefore, assessing the needs of the client, and providing access to the sponsor's infrastructure is an important means for quickly gaining resources, capabilities, and expertise needed to succeed in military operations.

4. Sponsors should recognize the importance of funding to support their clients.

Throughout its analysis, this thesis found funding to be one of the most important forms of support a BPC sponsor can provide.[247] BPC planners should therefore aim to leverage as much funding as possible, as early as possible in the sponsor-client relationship, and aim to provide consistent funding levels throughout the BPC relationship. BPC planners often can focus on the type of training, particular weapon systems, or infrastructure as the most important type of support. This thesis, however, demonstrated that the simplest form of support—money—has one of the biggest effects on a client's success. This finding does not mean that sponsors should distribute funding without accountability. Rather they should provide funding in concert with the other recommendation made in this thesis. Ultimately, sponsors should have close relationships with clients that, in addition to aiding in training and infrastructure support, would also allow the sponsor to monitor their client's use of the sponsor-provided funding.

5. Sponsors should shield clients from the complexities and tensions of multilateral BPC efforts.

While building large coalitions can make military operations more politically palatable and provide greater international legitimacy, they may hinder successful BPC operations. BPC planners should seek to maintain unity of effort in operations through a single political and military chain of command whenever possible. When this is not possible, planners should mitigate differences among sponsors before imposing them on their mutual client. In short, sponsors should strive to shield their clients from the tactical

247 See Chapter IV, "The Effects of Culture, Commitment, and Consensus on BPC," (page 62).

disorganization that is inherent in coalition warfare, which will hamper unity of command, effort and mission, likely hindering BPC success.

E. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should continue to develop a deeper understanding of the sponsor-client relationship. Specifically, the effects of different types of governments require further academic investigation. President Obama wrote in his opening remarks of the 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy that, "Underpinning it all, we are upholding our enduring commitment to the advancement of democracy."[248] The idea of promoting one form of government, democracy, suggests that there will be tensions underlying any BPC effort between the United States and a non-democratic client. This thesis attempted to investigate this hypothesis, but failed to draw a conclusive finding regarding different forms of government and BPC efforts. This is a topic that deserves greater attention because the likelihood that the United States will partner with a client that has a different government system in the future is likely.

Additionally, further research is needed to develop an optimization model that supports decision makers in their process of selecting ideal clients for BPC operations. By constructing an optimization model using the variables found in this thesis, researchers would be able to specify what economic and cultural differences are most conducive to developing successful BPC programs. The optimization model could also reveal what mix of support should be committed, as well as when that support should be allocated. While the optimization model would not provide a perfect solution, it would provide insights beyond a qualitative analysis, similarly to this thesis' logit regression.

F. CONCLUSION

As indicated by the National Security Strategy and the National Military Strategy, BPC will continue to be an important part of the United States' global security approach for years to come. Leaders responsible for planning and executing these BPC missions

248 "National Security Strategy" (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015).

need to be informed of the effects that certain forms of support and cultural variables have on BPC missions. Ultimately, there is no technological shortcut that will overcome these challenges in the U.S. military's BPC operations. True partner capacity building requires the United States to assume its share of the financial and physical risk to achieve victory. Ultimately, these risks include recognizing that sponsors need to manage closely multilateral BPC programs to ensure unity of effort. It also includes consistent and early funding to support clients. Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, it may mean assigning U.S. military personnel to positions where they can build intimate and sustained relationships with clients.

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APPENDIX. SUMMARY STATISTICS

Variable	Observations	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Outcome	2,235	0.04	0.2	0	1
Difference in Sponsor-Client Log per capita GDP	1,873	2.5	1.6	0.0	5.7
Difference in Sponsor-Client Form of Government	2,235	7.5	5.3	0	20
Number of Sponsors per Client	2,235	28.6	35.4	1	102
Number of Years Sponsor-Client Support	2,235	4.9	6.9	0	34
Sponsor Log per capita GDP	2,109	9.1	1.5	5.0	11.4
Sponsor Form of Government	2,235	4.2	7.5	-10	10
Troops	2,235	0.4	0.5	0	1
Access to Territory	2,235	0.05	0.2	0	1
Access to Infrastructure	2,235	0.05	0.2	0	1
Weapons	2,235	0.3	0.5	0	1
Materiel and Logistics	2,235	0.3	0.5	0	1
Training	2,235	0.6	0.5	0	1
Funding	2,235	0.2	0.4	0	1
Intelligence	2,235	0.04	0.2	0	1
Other forms of Support	2,235	0.03	0.2	0	1
Support Unknown	2,235	0.02	0.1	0	1

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